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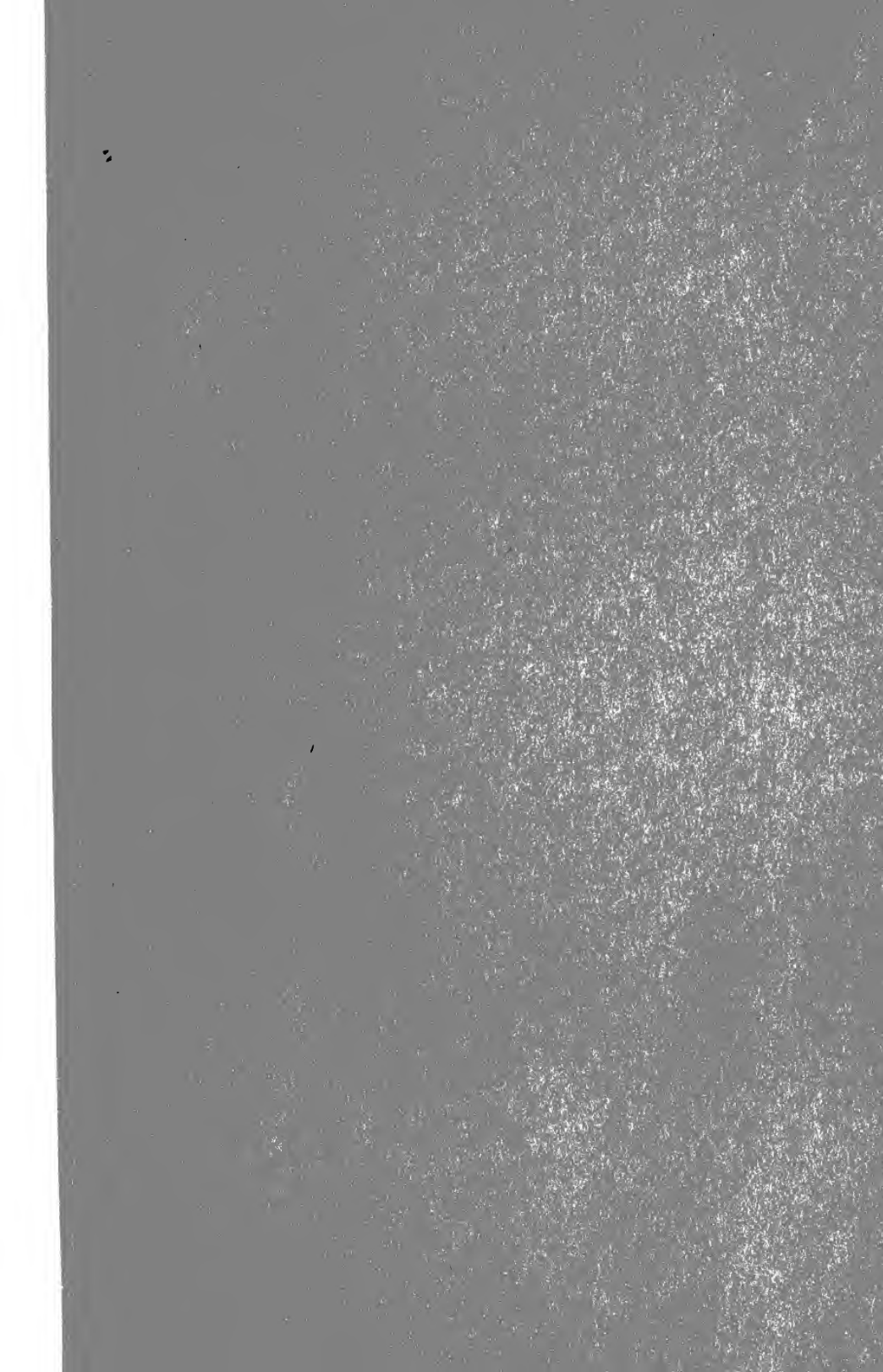
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DEPARTMENT OF

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND SOCIOLOGY

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# BIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN STATESMANSHIP

An Analytical Reference Syllabus

BY

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD, Ph. D.

Head Professor of Political Science and Sociology



PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY

1909



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**POLITICAL SCIENCE AND SOCIOLOGY**

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## PREFATORY NOTE.

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This course was offered as an experiment in 1907-8 and again in 1908-9. The results tend to prove that the study of nation-building through the lives of the builders has a singular attraction and a rare value. The great man is no longer looked upon as an individual hero in the Carlylean sense. Genius may be hereditary, as Galton insists; but it is opportunity, environment, which sets it free. We are coming clearly to see that a man is not less a hero, not less a genius, because mainly he is a product of the forces which determine the whole social life-struggle of his age. There is the social hero. Perhaps in no more effective, certainly in no more interesting, way can one study social causation, the historical process, than through the evolution of personality. The secret of personality may be the secret of a national crisis. The revelation of the unique personality of Abraham Lincoln is the explanation of his achievement as president.

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD.

Lincoln, June 15, 1909.



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## BIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN STATESMANSHIP.

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### SECTION I. ROGER WILLIAMS, THE APOSTLE OF SOUL-LIBERTY (1604-1683).

#### *A. Roger Williams and his Ideals.*

#### I. Early Life of Williams.

1. Home, parentage, nationality.
2. Education; his patron, Sir Edward Coke.
3. Personal appearance, manner, and character.

#### II. Characteristics of the Times of Roger Williams.

1. Politically.
  - a. The England of James I and Charles I.
  - b. The First English Colonies: two chief causes of their planting.
  - c. Contrast between the Separatists of Plymouth and the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay.
2. Intellectually: Shakespeare, Bacon, Ben Jonson, Hooker, and others.
3. Religiously.
  - a. The rise of sects (Masson, *Life of Milton*, III, 136-159).
  - b. Persecution; migration of the sects.

#### III. The Ideas and the Ideals of Roger Williams.

1. His religious and ecclesiastical ideas: an Anabaptist independent or teacher of "absolute toleration"; contrast between the liberal views of the early Anabaptists and those of contemporary sects (compare Masson, *Life of Milton*, III, 98 ff.); meaning of Williams' term "soul-liberty"?
2. His doctrine of race-equality in human rights as applied to the Indians.
  - a. The English and present American doctrine regarding the lands of the Indians.
  - b. Roger Williams was 300 years ahead of Winthrop and the New England clergy in his view of Indian rights.

3. His doctrine of entire separation of church and state.
  - a. He accepted the basic principle of the American nation.
  - b. On this principle he founded the first free, self-governing commonwealth in America, Rhode Island.
- B. *Roger Williams and his Contemporaries.*
- I. Roger Williams and the Boston Puritans.
  1. Charges against him; were they valid?
    - a. Was his Indian policy dangerous?
    - b. Was his love of controversy peculiar? Was it dangerous?
  2. His trial and expulsion from Massachusetts; he returns good for evil by saving Massachusetts from the Indians.
- II. The Cases of Anne Hutchinson (1590-1643) and Roger Williams Compared.
  - a. Meaning of her term "covenant of grace"?
  - b. The heresy trial; conduct of the clergy; of the presiding judge, Gov. John Winthrop (Brooks Adams, *Emancipation of Massachusetts*, 65-78; Hart, *Contemporaries*, I, 382-87).
- III. The case of the Quakers compared with the cases of Williams and Hutchinson (Hallowell, *Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts*, 1-31, *passim*).
  1. Meaning of their term, the "inward light"?
  2. False charges made by the Puritans; inaccuracy of Lodge, Fiske, Dexter, and Ellis in treating this case.
- IV. Conclusion.

## REFERENCES.

1. *Roger Williams*: To "break ground," read the short article in the *New International Encyclopædia*, XX, 536. This may be followed by O. S. Straus, *Roger Williams* (1894); and Richman, *Rhode Island* (2 vols., 1902). Older biographies are William Gammell, *Roger Williams* (1845, 1846); Romeo Elton, *Life of Roger Williams* (1852); and J. D. Knowles, *Memoir of Williams* (1834).

Source materials may be found in John Winthrop, *History of New England*; and William Bradford, *Plymouth Plantation*. In his editorial Preface to John Cotton's *Reply to Williams* in the Narragansett Club Publications, II, Professor Diman has examined the causes of Williams's expulsion from Massachusetts. The more important writings of Williams may be consulted in the Publications of the Narragansett Club; and Hart, *Contemporaries*, I, 402-406, gives his letter on "Toleration."

There is a mass of writing on Williams and his times. See H. M. Dexter, *Congregationalism*, Index; *idem*, *As to Roger Williams* (hostile and biased); Ellis, in *Massachusetts and its Early History* (Lowell In-

stitute Lectures), 91 ff.; *idem*, *Puritan Age in Massachusetts*, Index; Doyle, *English Colonies*, II, 113-26; Oliver, *Puritan Commonwealth*, 87-102, 192; Hildreth, *Hist. of United States*, I, 188, 221-23, 227-32, 291, 305, 394; Bancroft, *Hist. of United States*, I, 241-42, 249-56, 296-98; Masson, *Life of Milton*, III, 98 ff., 136-59; Gooch, *English Democratic Ideas*, 83-92; C. F. Adams, *Three Episodes*, I, 247, 325, 366, note, 375, 385; *idem*, *Massachusetts: its Historians and its History*, 25 ff., *passim*; Brooks Adams, *Emancipation of Massachusetts*, 104-27, and Index; Eggleston, *Beginners of a Nation*, 307-14; Tyler, *England in America*, Index; Fiske, *Beginnings of New England*, 114-16; Haven, in Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston*, I, 119; Ellis, in *ibid.*, 169 ff., 185 ff.; Ellis, in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, III, 219 ff., 335-39; Lodge, *Short History of the American Colonies*, 47-48, 385-92; Thwaites, *Colonies*, 122-23; Fisher, *Colonial Era*, 114 ff.; Channing, *History of the United States*, I, 362 ff.

Bibliography: Channing and Hart, *Guide*, 100, 272-73; Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, III, 377-78; *idem*, *Memorial History of Boston*, I, 172-73.

2. Anne Hutchinson: Brooks Adams, *Emancipation of Massachusetts*, 46-78; C. F. Adams, *Three Episodes*, I, 363-509, II, 533-78; *idem*, *Massachusetts: its Historians and its History*, 25 ff., *passim*; Hildreth, I, 242-46, 253-58; Oliver, *Puritan Commonwealth*, 169 ff., 180, 195; Thwaites, *Colonies*, 133-36; Lodge, *Short History*, 349-50, 385 (biased); Bancroft, I, 260-64; Doyle, *English Colonies*, II, 129 ff., 138, 186, 188; Channing, *History of the U. S.*, I, 368 ff.; Eggleston, *Beginners of a Nation*, 329-49. There are source references in *Colonial Records of Massachusetts*, I, 207, 212, 225-26; an extract from her trial taken from Hutchinson's *History* in Brooks Adams's book above cited; and also in Hart, *Contemporaries*, I, 382-87. G. E. Ellis has a short biography in the Sparks series.

3. *The Quakers*: Consult especially Sewell, *History of the Quakers*; Hallowell, *Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts*, 1 ff.; *idem*, *Pioneer Quakers*; Brooks Adams, *Emancipation of Massachusetts*, 128-78; C. F. Adams, *Three Episodes*, Index; Bancroft, I, 528-51; Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston*, I, 179, 185-87, 195, 350; Hildreth, I, 399-409, 453-55, 474-75; Oliver, 205-19; Fisher, 146 ff.; Fiske, 177-92 (inaccurate); Allen, *New England's Tragedies in Prose*, 7-68 (very inaccurate and prejudiced, but typical of New England ancestor-worship).

## SECTION II. JAMES OTIS, THE FIRST REVOLUTIONARY LEADER OF MASSACHUSETTS (1725-1783).

### I. Early Life of James Otis (Tudor, Chaps. i-iv; especially Tyler, I, 36-39).

1. Parentage.
2. Education; law-studies; standing at the bar; his favorite books.
3. His style of writing and speaking (See Tyler, *Literary History of the Am. Revolution*, I, 36-39).
4. Personal Traits and personal appearance (See Tudor, *Life of Otis*, giving a portrait).

### II. Characteristics of the Times of Otis: Why a Revolution was

Impending (Howard, *Preliminaries of the Revolution*, Chaps. i, iii, especially, 47-49, 64-72).

1. The French war reveals an "American People," with an inchoate national consciousness.
2. The old colonial system and theory; its collapse and the untimely attempt to enforce it; the "Molasses Act," 1733.
3. Writs of assistance (Howard, 73 ff.).
  - a. Origin and survival; how they differed from or resembled the "general warrants" of the Wilkes case (1763).
  - b. First used in the colonies, 1755 (See Gray, in Quincy's *Mass. Reports*, 402 ff., where writs are printed and full legal details given).
  - c. Supposed special need of these writs during the French and Indian War.

### III. His Speeches and Pamphlets.

1. His speech on the writs of assistance, Feb. 24, 1761 (Tudor, 62 ff.).
  - a. Character of his oratory.
  - b. Outline of his argument.
  - c. Effects of the speech.
2. His pamphlet, *Vindication of the Conduct of the House of Representatives*, 1762 (Tyler, I, 39-44; Howard, 84-85; Tudor, 114-35).
3. His pamphlet, *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved*, 1764 (Tyler, I, 47-52; Howard, 115-17; Tudor, 171 ff.).
4. His controversy with Martin Howard, 1765 (Tyler, I, 70-80).
5. His reply to Soame Jenyns, 1765; influence on Pitt (Howard, 167-68; Tyler, I, 81-90).
6. Estimate of the public services of Otis; his last days; circumstances of his death.

### REFERENCES.

The best account of Otis's place in the Revolution is that of M. C. Tyler, *Literary History of the American Revolution*, I, 30-52, and other passages above cited. With this, read Howard, *Preliminaries of the Revolution*, 65-83, *passim*; *New International Encyclopædia*, XV, 151; and passages in Tudor, *Life of James Otis* (1823). The original authority for the case of the writs of assistance is John Adams, *Works*, II, 521-25; and his later report as given by Minot, *History of Massachusetts*, II, 87-99; by Tudor, 62 ff.; and by Israel Keith, in Quincy's *Reports*, 479-82. Adams's letters to Tudor in his *Works*, X, are not wholly trustworthy.



The most detailed and enlightening examination of the case of the writs is that of Justice Horace Gray, in Quincy's *Mass. Reports*, 395-540.

In general, on the old colonial system and the origin of the Revolution, see Howard, chaps. i, iii; Weeden, *Economic and Social History of New England*, II, 666 ff., 714 ff.; Chamberlain, "The Revolution Impending," in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, VI, 1-24; Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*, 72-157; Bancroft, *United States* (ed. 1883), II, 546 ff.; Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts*, III, 89 ff.; Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, III, 321-34; Hart, *Formation of the Union*, 43-48; *idem*, *Contemporaries*, II, 374-78; Seeley, *Expansion of England*; Channing, *The Navigation Laws* (Worcester, 1890); Scott, *Development of Civil Liberty*, chap. viii; Beer, "Colonial Policy of England toward the American Colonies," in *Columbia College Studies*, III (New York, 1893); Lord, "Industrial Experiments in the British Colonies," in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, extra Vol., XVII (Baltimore, 1898); Ashley, "England and America, 1660-1760," in his *Surveys Historic and Economic* (London, New York, and Bombay, 1900), 309-60; Hill, "Colonial Tariffs," in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, VII, 73 ff. See also G. B. Hertz, *The Old Colonial System* (1905); M. A. M. Marks, *England and America* (2 vols., 1907); and George L. Beer, *British Colonial System* (1908).

Tyler, *op. cit.*, gives a full bibliography and analysis of the writings of Otis and of his adversaries.

### SECTION III. PATRICK HENRY, THE FIRST REVOLUTIONARY LEADER OF VIRGINIA (1736-1799).

#### I. Early Life of Henry (Tyler, *Patrick Henry*, 1-31; Wirt, *Life of Patrick Henry*, 19-49; W. W. Henry, *Patrick Henry*, I, 1-29).

1. His parentage and education; myths concerning Henry.
2. His marriage; business experiences, 1751-1760.
3. Admission to the bar, 1760; remarkable success during the first three years and a half of practice (contrary to the myth started by Jefferson).

#### II. The Royal Prerogative and the Revolution.

1. Quarrels with the governors.
2. Independence of the courts threatened; in October, 1761, Benjamin Pratt appointed chief-justice of New York "during the king's pleasure."
3. Abuse of legislative prerogative.
  - a. After the reign of Anne no act of Parliament vetoed by the crown; but this branch of the prerogative steadily maintained in the royal provinces.
  - b. The Virginia Acts imposing a prohibitory duty on the importation of slaves disallowed.

#### III. Patrick Henry's Protest against the King's Legislative Prerogative in the "Parson's Cause" (1763).

1. Origin of the cause.

- a. Laws of 1696 and 1748, fixing the parson's salary at 16,000 pounds of tobacco.
    - b. Tobacco as legal tender.
  - 2. The "Two-Penny" Act of 1755. Financial distress caused by the war times.
  - 3. "Two-Penny" Act of 1758; like that of 1755, it was passed without the "suspending clause." The prerogative strained in denying the petition of 1751.
    - a. Debts made payable either in kind or in paper money at the option of the payer; alleged hardships to the clergy.
    - b. Resistance of the clergy; pamphlet war; letter of the bishop of London; appeals to the board of trade placed before the privy council. The act disallowed, August 10, 1759; and Governor Fauquier ordered to publish the fact by proclamation.
    - c. Rev. John Camm's suit against the vestry of York Hampton parish; the assembly allows the expenses of appeals; 1764, Virginia law held valid by the general court; appeal to privy council, and the case dismissed, 1767.
    - d. Other suits in the lower courts; that of Rev. James Maury, of Fredericksville parish, Louisa, November 5, 1763; county court of Hanover declares the act of 1758 void; and orders that at next term a special jury shall determine the damage due Maury. Patrick Henry called in to defend the parish.
  - 4. December 1, 1763; Henry's speech in the Parson's Cause.
    - a. Character of his eloquence.
    - b. Points of the argument.
    - c. The verdict.
    - d. Revolutionary significance of the speech.
- IV. The Later Career of Patrick Henry.
- 1. The resolves against the Stamp Act, May 29, 1765; Henry's speech (Henry's *Patrick Henry*, I, 70 ff.).
  - 2. In the first Continental Congress, 1774.
  - 3. His resolves and great speech in the second revolutionary convention of Virginia, March, 1775 (Henry's *Henry*, I, 248 ff.).
  - 4. Why he opposed the ratification of the Federal Constitution (Tyler's *Henry*, 279 ff.; Henry's *Henry*, II, 338 ff., III, 431 ff.).

5. Last days. Estimate of Henry's public services (Tyler's *Henry*, 363 ff.; Henry's *Henry*, II, 600 ff.).

#### REFERENCES.

The best biography of Patrick Henry is that of M. C. Tyler, *Patrick Henry* (Boston, 1887); while the principal source is W. W. Henry, *Patrick Henry: Life, Correspondence, and Speeches* (3 vols., New York, 1891), with a portrait. The celebrated *Life of Patrick Henry* by William Wirt (Philadelphia, 1836) is very entertaining, but uncritical. Howard, *Preliminaries of the Revolution*, 84-101, 121-30, deals with the Parson's Cause and Henry's Speech on the Stamp Act.

In general, on the Parson's Cause, see Ann Maury, *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family* (New York, 1872), 402, 418-24 (James Maury's account of the trial); or the same in Hart, *Contemporaries*, II, 103-6; Perry, *Historical Collections*, I, passim; Meade, *Old Churches*, I, 216 ff.; Burnaby, *Travels* (2d ed., London, 1759); Jefferson, "Memorandum," in *Historical Magazine* (1867), N. S., II, 93; Hening, *Statutes*, III, 152, VI, 88, 89, 568, VII, 240, 241; Campbell, *History of Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1860), 514, 515; Bancroft, *United States*, III, 110 ff., 134 ff.; Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*, 178 ff.; Grahame, *United States*, IV, 206 ff.; Gordon, *United States* (London, 1788), I, 164 ff.; and the works of Tyler, Wirt, W. W. Henry, and Howard above cited. To "break ground" read *New International Encyclopædia*, IX, 778-79; and the sketches in the biographical cyclopedias.

#### SECTION IV. SAMUEL ADAMS, THE ORGANIZER OF AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION (1722-1803).

##### I. Characteristics of Samuel Adams (Hosmer, 1-20; Wells, I, 1-42).

1. Parentage; ability and social standing of his father. Samuel Adams (1689-1748); the "Caulker's Club" (1724).
2. Education; Adams's Master's Thesis, 1743 (Hosmer, 17).
3. Marriage, 1749; early business career; "Sam, the Maltster"; the Land-Bank incident (Wells, I, 25-29).
4. Early public career: "Sam, the first American Politician;" tax-collector, 1756-64; the arrears of taxes incident (Wells, I, 35-38; Hosmer, 36-37).
5. The "man of the town-meeting"; place of the town-meeting in New England and American history.
6. The "penman" of the Revolution; his style of writing and speaking.
7. The organizer of resistance; his methods in Boston.
8. General character of the revolutionary literature; newspapers and pamphlets; poems; state papers; public papers drafted by Samuel Adams (Tyler, *Lit. History of Am. Rev.*, II, 1-16, and Index).

## II. The Grenville Acts and the Birth of Revolutionary Parties.

1. Whigs and Tories, 1763-65 (Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts*, III, 103; Grahame, IV, 210).
2. "Sons of Liberty," 1763; methods and influence; supposed origin of the name in Barré's speech.
3. Non-importation agreements.
4. First intercolonial Committees of Correspondence, the result of Adams's "initial state paper" of the American Revolution, May 24, 1764 (*Boston Town Records*, XVI, 120-22; Wells, I, 46-49; Hutchinson, III, 104-107; Howard, 110-12).
5. Address to the governor and the resolutions of the assembly against the Stamp Act drafted by Adams, 1765.

## III. Adams and the Royal Instructions, 1770-1773 (Hosmer, 160 ff., 183 ff.; Frothingham, 249 ff.).

1. Character of the instructions.
2. Methods of resistance.
3. The Boston "massacre," March 5, 1770. Adams and the removal of the troops.
4. The "Gaspee," June 9, 1772.
5. Adams organizes the revolutionary political party (Howard, 242-58; Hosmer, 196 ff.; Frothingham, 261 ff.).
  - a. Local committees of correspondence proposed by Adams, Nov., 1772 (*Boston Town Records*, XVIII, 93, 94-108).
  - b. "Intercolonial committees of correspondence" proposed by Virginia, March, 1773 (Frothingham, 279 ff.).

## IV. Adams as a Mob Leader (Howard, 265-71; Hosmer, 243 ff.; Frothingham, 294 ff.).

1. The "Tea-Act": its character and purpose (Howard, 266 ff.).
2. The "Tea-Party": Adams, Chief of the "Mohawks," Dec. 16, 1773 (See Hosmer, in *Atlantic Monthly* as below cited).

## V. Adams Completes the Revolutionary Party Organization in the First Continental Congress, 1774 (Howard, 280-95; Frothingham, 358 ff.; Hosmer, 289 ff., 313 ff.; Wells, I, 218 ff.).

1. Effect of the five "coercive acts."
2. Puritan politicians in Philadelphia.

- a. John Adams's Diary (Howard, 288-89; John Adams, *Works*, II, 366-68).
- b. Samuel Adams and Duché; the "Suffolk Resolves" (Howard, 291-92; John Adams, *Works*, II, 368-69).

#### VI. Later Career of Adams (Hosmer, 351-431).

1. Why he disliked the federal constitution.
2. His official work in Massachusetts.
3. Estimate of his public services.

#### REFERENCES.

Hosmer, *Samuel Adams* (Boston, 1885); *idem*, "Samuel Adams, the Man of the Town-Meeting," in *Johns Hopkins Uni. Studies*, II; Wells, *Samuel Adams* (3 vols, Boston, 1865); Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*, 200-402; Bancroft, *United States* (ed. 1883), III; Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century*, III, chap. xii; Burke, *Speeches on American Taxation and Conciliation*; Woodburn, "Causes of the Revolution," in *Johns Hopkins Uni. Studies*, X, 553-609; Hart, *Formation of the Union*, 37-63; Sloane, *French War and Revolution*, 99 ff.; Ludlow, *War of American Independence*, 64-90; Goldwin Smith, *United States*, 64 ff.; Fiske, *American Revolution*, I, chap. i; Trevelyan, *Revolution*, I, chaps. ii-viii; Chamberlain, "The Revolution Impending," in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, VI, 1-68; Hart, *Contemporaries*, II, 373 ff.; Grahame, *United States*, IV, 246 ff.; Dawson, *Sons of Liberty in New York* (New York, 1859); Collins, "Committees of Correspondence," in *Report of American Historical Association* (1901), I, 243-71; Bartlett, *History of the Destruction of the Gaspee* (1861); *idem*, in *Rhode Island Colonial Records*, VII, 57-192; Becker, "Growth of Revolutionary Parties and Methods in new York Province, 1765-1774," in *American Historical Review*, VII, 56-76; Coffin, "The Quebec Act," in *Report of American Historical Association*, 1894, 273-79; Farrand, "The Taxation of Tea," in *American Historical Review*, III, 266-69; Frothingham, "Sam. Adams Regiments," in *Atlantic*, June and August, 1862, and November, 1863; Kidder, *History of the Boston Massacre* (Albany, 1870); Levermore, "Whigs in Colonial New York," in *American Historical Review*, I, 238-50; Small, "Beginnings of American Nationality," in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, VIII, 1-77; Winsor, "Virginia and the Quebec Bill," in *American Historical Review*, I, 436-43; E. E. Sparks, *Men who made the Nation* (1900), 47-78.

To break ground, read appropriate parts of the works of Hosmer, Frothingham, Hart, and Ludlow, above cited. Consult Howard, *Preliminaries of the Revolution*, Index at "Adams," as also the chapter headings; sketches in the encyclopedias; and select passages in Wells, *Samuel Adams*, I. See also Samuel Adams's *Writings*, edited by Cushing; and the *Journals* of the Continental Congress.

#### SECTION V. ROBERT MORRIS, THE FIRST AMERICAN FINANCIER (1734-1806).

##### A. *Finances of the Revolution, 1775-1781: The Call for Morris.*

##### I. Administration of the Treasury.

1. By special congressional committees (Bolles, *op. cit.* I, 10).

2. By standing congressional committees, 1776-81 (Guggenheimer, *op. cit.*, 127 ff.): the "Commissioners or Board of Treasury," created July 30, 1779, consisting of two members of Congress and three persons not members of Congress.

## II. The Struggle for Revenue, 1775-81.

1. Dislike of taxation: Thomas Paine and Pelatiah Webster in favor (Sumner, I, 28-30; Bolles, *op. cit.*, I, 191).
2. Requisitions.

## III. Currency.

1. Coins in use (Fiske, *Critical Period*, 165, 166, 171, 172; Sumner, II, 36, 42 ff.; Bullock, *Monetary History*).
2. Paper money.
  - a. Amount issued: should be dependent on specie in circulation and taxes, but actually about \$242,000,000 issued by 1780; estimated as high as \$387,000,000 (Sumner, I, 98).
  - b. Forced circulation: "forestalling," "engrossing," and "monopoly" punished; price conventions and price tariffs.
  - c. Counterfeiting.
  - d. Depreciation: as a form of tax; as the "poor man's friend" (Sumner, I, 79-82; Bolles, *op. cit.*, I, 177); really produces "social palsy" (Sumner, *op. cit.*, I, 76, 77, 80, 81).
  - e. Forty-for-one Act, March 18, 1780.
3. State paper money; loan-office certificates; "indents"; private tokens.
4. Paper money, 1781-1788 (McLaughlin, 138-53; Fiske, *Critical Period*, 168-86).

## IV. Specific Supplies; Impressments; Lotteries; Loans (see Sumner and Hatch).

### *B. Finances of the Confederation: The Response of Morris.*

#### I. State of Affairs, 1781.

1. Financial and administrative demoralization: the despair of Washington (Morse, *Hamilton*, I, 86 ff.; Sumner, I, 258, 259).
2. Hence Congress was forced to abandon the committee system and to appoint heads of departments (Jameson, *Essays*, 116-85).

- a. Secretary for Foreign Affairs, January 10, 1781 (R. Livingston chosen).
- b. Secretary of War, February 7, 1781 (Benjamin Lincoln chosen).
- c. Secretary for Marine, February 7, 1781 (Jameson, 160).
- d. Superintendent of Finance (called the "Financier"), February 7, 1781).

II. Life and Training of Robert Morris, to 1781 (Sumner, *Robert Morris*, 11-27; Oberholtzer, *Robert Morris*, 1-59).

III. The Work of Robert Morris as Superintendent of Finance, 1781-1784 (Bolles, *op. cit.*, I, 267-332; Hart, *op. cit.*, 109 ff.; Oberholtzer, 60 ff.).

- 1. Appointed February 20, 1781; accepted May 14; the two conditions of acceptance (Sumner, I, 264-67); his qualifications and previous experience (*ibid.*, 1-4, 261-64); his preparatory work in the Pennsylvania assembly (*ibid.*, 270-73).
- 2. He finds the revenue consisting chiefly of loan-office and quartermaster's certificates; hence their receipt on taxes stopped, November 12, 1781 (*ibid.*, 272, 273).
- 3. His plan.
  - a. Economy and retrenchment (*ibid.*, 277 ff.).
  - b. Taxes in specie to pay foreign interest (Bolles, *op. cit.*, I, 270).
  - c. Foreign loans; "anticipations."
  - d. A national bank, etc.
- 4. His operations.
  - a. Miscellaneous tasks (Sumner, I, 277 ff.).
  - b. Negotiations in paper money (*ibid.*, 283).
  - c. "Bill-kiting" (*ibid.*, 282-84, 74, 95, 114, 115).
  - d. Circulars to the governors (*ibid.*, 284-91).
  - e. Provides for Yorktown campaign, etc.
- 5. The Bank of North America, chartered by Congress, May 26, 1781.
  - a. Hamilton's plan (Bancroft, *History*, VI, 25; *idem*, *Constitution*, I, 31, 32; Morse, *Hamilton*, 71 ff.; Bolles, *op. cit.*, I, 273; Lodge, *Hamilton*, 26-30).
  - b. Morris's plan.

- 1) Capital, \$400,000, to be increased at pleasure (Bancroft, *Constitution*, I, 32; cf. Sumner, II, 25).
- 2) Incorporated "forever," December 31, 1781; question of constitutionality.
- 3) Slow subscriptions; only \$70,000 by October, 1781.
- 4) Chartered by Pennsylvania and other states.
- 5) June, 1872, without authority Morris subscribes \$254,000 of the French subsidy.
- 6) Benefits.
  - a. For the Confederation.
  - b. For private enterprise.
- 7) Reorganized, 1785; rechartered by Pennsylvania assembly, March 17, 1787, for fourteen years.
6. Morris resigns, 1784; management of finances is again intrusted to a congressional committee, 1784-89 (Bolles, *op. cit.*, I, 333 ff.; Fiske, *op. cit.*, 168).

#### IV. Later Life of Morris (see Oberholtzer and the works of Sumner).

1. His failure in business.
2. Was the country ungrateful?

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Sumner, *The Financier and the Finances of the American Revolution* (2 vols., New York, 1891); Bolles, *Financial History of the United States* (3 vols., 2d ed., New York, 1884-86), I; Knox, *United States Notes*, 9, 10; Poore, *Money and its Laws*, 429 ff., 461 ff.; Sumner, "The Spanish Dollar and the Colonial Shilling," in *American Historical Review*, July, 1898; *idem*, *History of the Currency*, 43 ff.; Walker, *Money*, 326-36; Dewey, *Financial History of the United States* (New York, London, and Bombay, 1903), 2-59; Bullock, *Monetary History of the United States* (New York, 1900), Part I, 1-78; Eliot, *Funding System*, 61-6; Gouge, *Short History of Paper Money* (Philadelphia, 1833); Schuckers, *Finances and Paper Money of the Revolutionary War* (Philadelphia, 1874); Watson, *History of American Coinage* (New York, 1899); Hickox, *Historical Account of American Coinage* (Albany, 1858); Greene, *Historical View of the American Revolution*, 137-72; Curtis, *Constitutional History*, I, Index; Hildreth, *United States*, III, 78, 87, 89, 110, 133, 299, 309, 310, 361, 363, 405, 446; Bancroft, *United States*, Index; *idem*, *Constitution*, I, 31, 32, 35, 36; McMaster, *People of the United States*, I, 21-23, 139-44, 187-200, 202-8, 266-70, 281-93, 296, 297, 331-61, 400-403; Lalor, *Cyclopedia*, I, 199, 207, 208; White, *Money and Banking* (Boston and London, 1896), 134-48; Pitkin, *United States*, II, 154 ff.; Lossing, *Field Book of the Revolution*, I, 317-19, 352, II, 557, 630; Guggenheimer, in *Jameson's Essays* (Boston, 1889), 127 ff.; Lodge, *Hamilton*, 26-30; Morse, *Hamilton*, 71 ff.; E. F. Sparks, *Men Who made the Nation*, 119-50 (Morris).

For class purposes the best references, as above given, are the three books and the article of W. G. Sumner; with the passages in Bolles, Mc-



Master, Greene, and Guggenheimer. Lossing has interesting illustrations; Dewey, Poore, and Walker are good. See also McLaughlin, *The Confederation and the Constitution*, 51-52, and chaps. iv, v, 53-88; and Van Tyne, *American Revolution*, 239-43, 258, 304. The best biography is that of Oberholtzer (1903). There is much on Morris and finance in L. C. Hatch, *The Administration of the American Revolutionary Army*, 86-123, and Index. See also C. J. Bullock, *Finances of the United States*: in *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin*, I, 122 ff.; and Bullock's edition of William Douglas, "Discourse Concerning the Currencies of the British Plantations in America," in American Economic Association, *Economic Studies*, II, 259-375, select paragraphs. Consult C. H. Hart, *Robert Morris, the Financier of the American Revolution* (1877); A. B. Hart, *Contemporaries*, II, 556-59, 605, III, 208.

## SECTION VI. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, THE FIRST AMERICAN DIPLOMATIST (1706-1790).

I. Franklin a Typical American: Characteristics (Morse, 1-16; More, *Benj. Franklin*, 1-36; Ford, *Many-Sided Franklin*, 1-41, passim; Fisher, 1 ff., passim; McMaster, 1-64; *Autobiography*, Bigelow's ed., I, 81 ff.).

1. Rise of a "self-made" man, 1706-1730.

a. Ancestry.

b. Education.

c. Printer's apprentice in Boston, 1719-1723.

d. Removal to Philadelphia, 1723.

e. The dubious generosity of Gov. William Keith and its interesting fruit; a journeyman printer sows "wild oats" in London, 1724-1726.

f. The firm of "Franklin and Meredith"; the origin of the "Pennsylvania Gazette," Oct. 2, 1729; a rare case of "prudential virtue."

g. Franklin's marriage, Sept. 1, 1730; some rare examples of "prudential courtship."

2. Ideals of a "self-made" man.

II. Franklin's Achievements While a Private Citizen of Philadelphia, 1730-1757 (Morse, 17-57; McMaster, 65-167; Fisher, Index and Table of Contents; More, chaps. iii-iv; the various editions of the *Autobiography*; Ford, Index and Chapter Headings).

1. He founds the "mother of all the North American subscription libraries;" his peculiar method of promoting useful projects (Morse, 20-21).

2. He founds "Richard Saunders" or "Poor Richard," Dec. 1732; its character and influence.

3. His newspaper, the "Pennsylvania Gazette."
    - a. Origin of editorials.
    - b. Origin of commercial advertising.
    - c. Moral influence of the Gazette.
  4. He founds the first culture "club," the "Junto"; its predecessor, the "Society of the Free and Easy"; Franklin's theory of utilitarian morals; his religious ideas; his "Art of Virtue" (Morse, 24-35).
  5. He founds the Philosophical Society, 1743-4; and this is united with the Junto, 1769, to form the "American Philosophical Society," of which Franklin was president, 1769-1790.
  6. He founds the Academy, 1743-1751; after various changes, this became the University of Pennsylvania in 1791; why Franklin was chosen a trustee of the Academy (Morse, 37).
  7. *Eripuit caelo fulmen sceptrumque tyrannis* (Turgot's inscription on Franklin's portrait): the most famous kite ever flown, 1752; Franklin takes the degree of M. A. from both Harvard and Yale, 1753.
  8. Multifarious activities (Morse, 35-57).
    - a. The first American stove (Parton; also Morse, 35-56).
    - b. Plaster of Paris (Morse, 36): Franklin promotes agriculture.
    - c. The "Union Fire Company."
    - d. Helps Dr. Bond found a hospital, 1751: a notable precedent in getting endowments (Morse, 40-41).
    - e. Paving, lighting, and street-cleaning.
    - f. Postmaster-general, 1753.
      - a. Importance of his work in this office.
      - b. Civil-service ideals foreshadowed (Morse, 43).
    - g. Franklin's Plan of Union, 1754 (Howard, 13-14; Frothingham, *Rise of Republic*).
    - h. His letters against Gov. Shirley's plan of colonial taxation, 1754 (Morse, 46-49).
    - i. He prepares Pennsylvania for Braddock's Campaign (Morse, 51-54): Franklin as a "Colonel."
  9. His Autobiography: its literary and historical value.
- III. Franklin as Colonial Agent, 1757-1775 (Morse, 58-216; Howard, 124, 128, 136-38, 169-171, 226, 231, 260-65; More, 85 ff.; McMaster, 167 ff.; Fisher, 210 ff.).

1. Franklin and the French and Indian War.
  - a. Schemes of Shirley and others to tax the colonies.
  - b. Franklin's "Canada Paper," The Interest of Great Britain, etc. (London, 1760; or in his *Works*, III, 69-124).
2. Franklin and the Stamp Act.
  - a. His discussion with Grenville before its passage; was he mistaken as to the American temper?
  - b. His examination at the bar of the House of Commons, February 13, 1766.
3. The Hutchinson letters; Wedderburn's arraignment (1772-1775).
4. Franklin's views on taxation and representation.

#### IV. Franklin, the Diplomatist of the Revolution (see works above cited).

1. Genesis of the Federal Department of State in the committee for secret correspondence appointed 1775.
2. Early French observation of America.
  - a. Choiseul; character and ability; attitude toward America; sends De Kalb to America, 1768 (Kapp, *op. cit.*, 53 ff.; Greene, *German Element*, 91 ff.); cause of Choiseul's fall (Kitchin, *History of France*, III, 465 ff.).
  - b. Vergennes: character and policy; Vergennes and Turgot (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 364 ff.); embassy of Bonvouloir, 1776; his report (Durand, *op. cit.*, 1 ff.; services of Beaumarchais, the typical secret agent; Comte de Broglie and the proposed stadtholderate (Kapp, *op. cit.*, 89-98).
3. The French Alliance, 1778.
  - a. The American commissioners, 1776-78; Silas Deane, Arthur Lee, Benjamin Franklin; characters of Deane and Lee.
  - b. Reception of Franklin; his relation with Lee, Deane, John Adams, and Izard.
  - c. The treaty, February 6, 1778.
    - 1) Its provisions.
    - 2) Influences which secured it.
  - d. English agents attempt to secure peace through Franklin.

## 4. Franklin's later services.

- a. His life in France.
- b. The treaty of 1783.
- c. His place in American history.

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The best short biography is J. T. Morse, *Benjamin Franklin*, in "American Statesmen" series (1892); and the best full biography is James Parton, *Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin* (2 vols., 1867), especially, II, 107 ff. See also J. B. McMaster, *Franklin* (1887); S. G. Fisher, *The True Benj. Franklin* (1899); the excellent book of the two Hales, *Franklin in France* (2 vols., 1887-88); P. L. Ford, *The Many-Sided Franklin* (1889); *The Sayings of Poor Richard* (edited by Ford, 1890); and the good sketch in *New International Encyclopædia*, VIII, 186-87, with a portrait. Consult *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* (edited by Bigelow, 1868; by Weld, 1855; or any of the many editions); the large *Life of Benjamin Franklin Written by Himself* (revised edition in 3 vols. by Bigelow, 1888). The best edition of Franklin's *Complete Works* is that of Bigelow (10 vols., 1887-88); and there is an older edition by Jared Sparks, in 10 vols. Jared Sparks has a *Life of Franklin* (1844); and E. E. Sparks, *Men Who made the Nation*, 1-46, an entertaining discussion. Consult the "Franklin Bibliography" by P. L. Ford (1889); and the interesting discussion in Am. Philosophical Society, *Proceedings*, XXVIII, 161-226.

For the principal events in Franklin's career, see the histories of Bancroft, Hildreth (especially vol. III), Winsor (*Narrative and Critical History*, VI), Trevelyan (*American Revolution*, I), and Lecky (*England in Eighteenth Century*, III, chap. xii); also in the "American Nation" the volumes by Thwaites, Howard, Van Tyne, and McLaughlin (using the Indexes). On the treaty of 1782-83 and the Convention of 1787, consult Fiske, *Critical Period*, chap. i, and Index.

In general on the times, read Greene, *Historical View*, chap. vi; *idem*, *German Element*, 91 ff.; Balch, *French in America*, 77 f.; Ramsay, *American Revolution*, 372 ff.; Kapp, *John Kalb*, 45 ff., 286 ff.; Force, *Archives*, I; *Treaties and Conventions*, 296-314; Durand, *Documents on American Revolution*; Preston, *Documents*; MacDonald, *Select Charters*, and his *Select Documents*; *Old South Leaflets*; and *American History Leaflets*. Of special importance is F. J. Turner, "The Policy of France toward the Mississippi Valley in the Period of Washington and Adams," in *American Hist. Review*, X, 249-79. Consult A. B. Hart, *Contemporaries*, Index at "Franklin" in vol. IV.

## SECTION VII. GEORGE WASHINGTON, THE FOREMOST AMERICAN (FEBRUARY 22, 1732-DECEMBER 14, 1799).

## I. George Washington the Man.

1. How Washington's place in history was measured by the world's tribute at his death (Lodge, *Washington*, I, 1-4, giving the *Report of Talleyrand*; Johnson, *General Washington*, 324; Fiske-Irving, 519-22).
  - a. "General Washington is known to us, and President Washington;

- b. "But George Washington is an unknown man" (McMaster, *People of the U. S.*, II, 452. Compare Lodge, I, 7, 1-14).
2. Ancestry and education (Ford, 15 ff., 60 ff.; Johnson, 1 ff.; Fiske-Irving, 55 ff.; Marshall, chap. i).
  - a. The Washingtons of Sulgrave manor, Northamptonshire, England; false genealogies (Lodge, I, 29 ff).
  - b. The Virginia Washingtons, Lawrence and John, 1658.
  - c. Education of George, the son of Mary Ball, and Augustine, the grandson of John Washington (1732-1747).
    - 1) The myths of Parson Weems.
    - 2) The teachings of Sexton Hobby and Mr. Williams.
    - 3) The influence of W. Mather's *The Young Man's Companion* (*Historical Magazine*, X, 47; Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, II, 412; Lodge, I, 50-51).
    - 4) Was Washington illiterate? His letters and papers (Lodge, II, 332-37).
  - d. George tries surveying; also smallpox in Barbadoes (1748-1752); influence of Lord Fairfax (Lodge, I, 52-62).
  - e. "Post graduate" work: the first call to public duty, 1753; "Major" and Adjutant General George Washington goes as Commissioner to French Creek (Lodge, I, 62-68).
  - f. The second call to public duty: Washington in the French and Indian War; Fort Necessity; Braddock's Field; other events (Johnson, 27-66; Fiske-Irving, 65 ff.).
3. George's courtships; marriage to the widow Custis, 1759. (Lodge, I, 92 ff.; Ford, 84 ff.; Johnson, 67 ff.; Fiske-Irving, 98-99, 110-111).
4. Personal characteristics (Lodge, II, 298 ff., 379 ff.; Schouler, I, 117-126, 451).
  - a. Personal appearance; physical traits (Ford, *True George Washington*, 38-59; Lodge, II, 379 ff.).
  - b. Moral traits; false charges; Parson Weems' anecdotes.
    - 1) Immorality not proved.
    - 2) Coldness of heart and niggardliness not proved;

he was a just employer, a good master, a thrifty business man (Lodge, II, 347-63; McMaster, II, 453).

- 3) His character as revealed in his social life, tastes, and amusements (See Ford and Lodge).
  - 4) His temper: illustrations (Lodge, II, 385 ff.; McMaster, II, 43-44, 110-11; Ford, 206, 217, 226, 261, 271-72).
  - 5) His courage; recklessness in battle.
  - 6) His love of justice: case of André.
  - 7) Question of his religious beliefs.
  - 8) Was he a "tax-dodger"?
- c. Intellectual traits.
- 1) Constancy.
  - 2) Thoroughness; orderly business methods; condition of his papers.
  - 3) Patriotism; conscious use of his position and prestige for the public good.
  - 4) Common sense and sound judgment; his knowledge of men (Lodge, II, 329-31).
  - 5) Manysided statesmanship.

## II. Washington the Soldier (Ford, 268-292; Fiske, *Am. Revolution*, Index; Johnson, chapter headings; Carrington, chapter headings and Index).

1. His training in the French war, 1753-1758.
2. His generalship (see Fiske, Carrington, and Johnson, above cited).
  - a. How shown by the plans and campaigns of 1777 (Fiske, *American Revolution*, I, 249-344; Johnson, 146-175; Fiske-Irving, 274 ff.).
  - b. How shown by the Yorktown Campaign; Cornwallis's judgment (Fiske, *Am. Revolution*, II, 290; Fiske-Irving, 421-83; Johnson, 256-66).
  - c. How shown in the siege of Boston, 1775-1776 (Fiske-Irving, 166 ff.; Frothingham, *Siege of Boston*; Fiske, *Am. Revolution*, I, 154 ff.).
  - d. Other illustrations.

## III. Washington the Citizen, the Statesman, and the President (Ford, 293-310; Lodge, II, 298 ff., 317 ff.).

1. Washington and the opening of the West: is he a typical American? Has he traits of the "western" American?

- (Adams, in *J. H. U. Studies*, III, 80-102; Lodge, II, 14-17, 317 ff.; Bancroft, *History*, VI, 113-14, 125 ff.).
2. Washington's influence on the call for a convention and on the making and the character of the federal constitution (Johnson, 282 ff.; Bancroft, *History*, VI, 115, passim; *idem*, *Constitution*, I, 16-22, 100 ff.; Fiske-Irving, 492-93, 496-97; Curtis, *Constitution*, I, 230 n. 2, 231, 265-73; Lodge, *Washington*, II, 16 ff.; Sumner, *Financier*, I, 258-59; Fiske, *Critical Period*, 54, 100, 106-107, 162; McMaster, I, 277-78; Marshall, *Washington*, V, 90; McLaughlin, 87, 166, 169, 175, 180, 184, 185, 191, 280, 293, 299).
  3. Washington the President: greatness of the task of organizing the federal government under the constitution (Schouler, I, 77 ff.).
    - a. His cabinets (Lodge, II, 60-70, 242; Schouler, I, 107-12).
    - b. His theory of federal patronage and of the civil service (Schouler, I, 108).
    - c. His Indian policy.
    - d. The great organic statutes of his administration.
  4. Illustrations of Washington's Statesmanship.
    - a. His "Legacy," June 8, 1783 (Fiske, *Critical Period*, 54, 50-55; Bancroft, *History*, VI, 89 ff.).
    - b. His action on the "Newburg address," March 11, 1783 (Fiske, *op. cit.*, 108-112; Bancroft, VI, 70-77; McLaughlin, 65-67).
    - c. His first inaugural address, April 30, 1789 (Richardson, *Messages*, I, 51 ff.; Williams, *Statesman's Manual*, I, 31-33).
    - d. His "neutrality proclamation," April 22, 1793 (Schouler, I, 244-45; Richardson, I, 156-57).
    - e. His "farewell address," Sept. 17, 1796 (Williams, I, 69-78; Richardson, I, 213 ff.).
  5. Washington and his political enemies; how he endured abuse and slander (Fiske-Irving, 513; McMaster, *People of U. S.*, II, 111, 113, 204-205, 228, 230, 249-50, 260-61, 275-76, 289-91, 302-306; Ford, 240-67, 206-208, 227; Lodge, II, 219, 234-35, 240, 246, 248, 251-53, 301).

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The most satisfactory general biography is that of H. C. Lodge, *George Washington* (2 vols., 1893). P. L. Ford, *The True George Washington* (1897) is best for the details of Washington social and private

life. See also the entertaining book of B. T. Johnson, *General Washington* (1894); and the popular and mainly uncritical *Washington The Soldier* (1898) by H. B. Carrington. Irving, *George Washington* (5 vols., 1855-59) has been abridged by John Fiske, *Washington and His Country* (1887). John Marshall, *Life of George Washington* (5 vols., 1804-1807; or 2 vols., 1832) is still useful. There are short biographies by E. E. Hale (1888), Woodrow Wilson (1897), C. C. King, (1894), H. E. Scudder (1889), G. E. Seelye (1893), and Jared Sparks. E. E. Sparks, *Men Who made the Nation*, 181-217, has a lively account; and W. C. Ford, *George Washington* (2 vols., 1900), is excellent. Consult A. B. Hart, *Contemporaries*, Index in vol. IV; G. W. P. Custis, *Recollections of Washington* (ed. by Lossing, 1860); Richard Rush, *Washington in Domestic Life* (1857); B. F. Hough, *Washingtoniana* (rev. ed., 1865); B. J. Lossing, *Diary of George Washington, 1789-1791* (1840); W. S. Baker, *Washington After the Revolution, 1784-1799* (1898); J. M. Toner, "George Washington's Library," in *Am. Hist. Assoc. Report*, 1892, 71-169. John Fiske, *American Revolution* (2 vols., 1892), has interesting accounts of Washington's campaigns. On the military and political career of Washington, read C. H. Van Tyne, *American Revolution* (1905), Index and Contents; A. C. McLaughlin, *Confederation and Constitution*, Index at Washington; Howard, *Preliminaries of the Revolution*, 287, 297, 311, 334; the histories of Trevelyan, Hildreth, Bancroft, Winsor, Schouler, and McMaster, II; also Hart, *Formation of the Union*; Greene, *Historical View*; Lodge, *American Revolution* (2 vols., 1898); Lossing, *Field Book of the Revolution*; J. A. Harrison, *Washington*.

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## SECTION VIII. ALEXANDER HAMILTON, THE ORGANIZER OF AMERICAN FINANCE (JANUARY 11, 1757-JULY 12, 1804).

I. Early Life of Hamilton, 1757-1776 (Lodge, 1-12, 285-97; Fiske, *Critical Period*, 124-26; Sumner, 1-9; Morse, I, 1-20; J. C. Hamilton, *History of the Republic*; Hamilton's *Works*, VII, 472, VIII, 166, 351, 463, 465).

1. Uncertainty as to his parentage, date of birth, and events of his early boyhood: was he illegitimate? Value of Timothy Pickering's *memoranda*, 1822; Contradictory statements of J. C. Hamilton, Alexander's son (Lodge, 1-2, 285-97; Bancroft, *United States*, IV, 110-13; J. C. Hamilton, *History of the Republic*, VII, 842).
2. Desultory elementary education in Nevis.
3. Hamilton, the merchant's clerk, 1769-1772: the Secretary of the Treasury foreshadowed; the account of a hurricane his first literary production.
4. Hamilton at Elizabethtown grammar school and King's College (Columbia); literary efforts, 1772-1774.
5. Hamilton chooses the colonial side in the Revolution, 1774-1776.



- a. His speech in the "Fields," July 6, 1774 (Hamilton, *Works*, I; Lodge, 7-8; Fiske, *Critical Period*, 126; Morse, I, 10-12).
- b. His two tracts against the "Westchester Farmer" (Samuel Seabury), 1774-75 (Tyler, *Lit. Hist. of Am. Rev.*, I, 329-55; Sumner, 4-5; Morse, I, 13-14).
- c. Resists the mob-violence of the "Liberty-Boys"; defense of Dr. Cooper (Sumner, 7-8; Morse, I, 14-19).
- d. Captain of an artillery company, 1776 (Morse, I, 21-22).

# II. Hamilton in the War for Independence, 1776-1781 (Lodge, 13-31; Morse, I, 20-63; Sumner, 104-107).

- 1. As artillery captain: Long Island, White Plains, Trenton, Princeton, 1776-1777.
- 2. As Washington's aide, March 1, 1777-February 16, 1781 (Lodge, 14-23; Morse, I, 25 ff.).
  - a. Was he author of Washington's correspondence and military papers?
  - b. His mission to General Gates.
  - c. His quarrel with Washington, February 16, 1781.
- 3. The storm of the Yorktown redoubt.
- 4. Estimate of his military ability.

# III. Hamilton the Statesman.

- 1. His powers displayed in the Congress of the Confederation and as a lawyer; the case of Rutgers *vs.* Waddington (Lodge, 32 ff., 46-49; Fiske, 127-129; Morse, I, 143 ff.).
- 2. His work for a stronger government than the Confederation and for a constitutional convention (Morse, *Hamilton*, I, 155-76; Lodge, 50-57; McLaughlin, 170; Schouler, I, 24 ff.; Curtis, *Constitution*, I, 273-82; Bancroft, *Constitution*, I, 13, 25-26 (Continentalist Papers).
  - a. His remarkable letter on paper money and the finances of the Confederation, 1780 (Lodge, 26-28; Sumner, 107-108).
  - b. Bank scheme; other financial projects (Sumner, 108 ff.).
  - c. His letter to James Duane outlining a constitution needed and suggesting a constitutional convention (Curtis, I, 138, note, 236-39, note; Lodge, *Works of Hamilton*, I; Sumner, 112).

- d. His work *for* and *in* the Annapolis Convention, 1786 (Bancroft, *Constitution*, I, 267 ff.).
  - 1) How he secured representation from New York.
  - 2) How he won the call for a constitutional convention to be held in 1787 (Bancroft, *Constitution*, I, 267 ff.).
  - 3) How he worked for New New York's participation in that Convention (Bancroft, *History*, VI, 195 ff.; *idem*, *Constitution*, I, 274-78).
3. His work for the Constitution, 1787-1788 (Lodge, 49-80; Morse, I, 176-237; Sumner, 130 ff.).
  - a. His "plan" for a constitution presented in the Convention of 1787 (Elliot, *Debates*, I, 179-80; Fiske, *Critical Period*, 246; McLaughlin, 218-19; Schouler, I, 40-41; Lodge, 60-65; Morse, I, 195 ff.).
  - b. His share in the *Federalist*; its character and importance (Fiske, 34 ff.; Lodge, 66 ff.; Morse, I, 240 ff.; Schouler, I, 57; McLaughlin, 307-308).
  - c. His work in the New York convention for ratification of the Constitution (Fiske, 343 ff.; Lodge, 70-80; Morse, I, 238-75; Sumner, 136 ff.; McLaughlin, 310-11; Bancroft, *History*, VI, 452 ff.).
4. His work as Secretary of the Treasury, Sept. 1789-Jan. 31, 1795 (Lodge, 84-135; Schouler, I, 130-42, 158-162, 181, 186-87; Morse, I, 276-425; Sumner, 144-83; Morse, *Thomas Jefferson*, 97-109; Bassett, *Federalist System*, 27-41; Dewey, *Financial History*, 75 ff.; MacDonald, 46-112).
  - a. First "Report on Public Credit."
    - 1) Nature of the financial problem.
    - 2) His funding scheme; opposition elicited by the proposed assumption by the federal government of state debts.
    - 3) The compromise: assumption and the capital location; was Jefferson "duped" by Hamilton?
  - b. Second Report on Public Credit: an excise tax recommended.
  - c. Report on the national bank: doctrine of implied powers first advanced.
  - d. Report on the establishment of a mint: the U. S. decimal system of coinage adopted in consequence.
  - e. Report on manufactures: lays the foundation of the

entire protective tariff argument (see the Report in Taussig, *State Papers*, 1-107; MacDonald, *Select Documents*, 98-112; *Annals of Congress*, I, 106 ff.).

f. Other reports and financial measures.

#### IV. Hamilton the Politician and Federalist Leader (Bassett, *Federalist System*, 42-55, and Index at Hamilton).

##### 1. Antagonism of Hamilton and John Adams: causes and results.

a. Small electoral vote for Adams in 1789 through Hamilton's scheme (Schouler, I, 71-72).

b. Hamilton's scheme to defeat Adams in the election of 1796 (Schouler, I, 327, 334-35; Lodge, 194-202).

c. Hamilton writes down Adams at the election of 1800 (Schouler, I, 468-73; Lodge, 229-35).

##### 2. Antagonism of Hamilton and Jefferson as party leaders (Morse, *Thomas Jefferson*, 100 ff., 111-45; Sumner, 170-71, 184-90; Lodge, 136-52).

a. Comparison of their theories of government (Schouler, I, 170-77, 202 ff.).

b. Party dissensions; development of the Federalist and Anti-Federalist ("Republican") parties.

1) Influence of John Adams's *Discourses on Davila* (Schouler, I, 175-76; Morse, *Thomas Jefferson*, 131-32; Lodge, 136 ff.; Sumner, 184-90).

2) Influence of the newspapers (Schouler, I, 175, 177-79, 206 ff.; Morse, II, 1 ff.).

3) Influence of Jefferson backed by Freneau's *Gazette* (Schouler, I, 177, 206-12; Morse, *Thomas Jefferson*, 132 ff.).

4) Influence of Hamilton backed by Fenno's *National Gazette* (Schouler, I, 208 ff.; Sumner, 189).

c. The attack on Hamilton in Jefferson's *Anas*, first published, 1818 (Morse, *Thomas Jefferson*, 109, 113, 115-116, 121-22, 125-26; Schouler, I, 176; Randall's *Jefferson*).

d. Hamilton investigated, 1792-93 (Schouler, I, 200-201, 217-20; Lodge, 148-52; Morse, II, 20-66; Hildreth, IV, 394-404).

1) His indiscretions.

2) Investigation and vindication.

- e. Alleged British sympathy of Hamilton (Lodge, 153-187; Sumner, 200-24; Morse, II, chap. iii; Schouler, I).
  - 1) Favors neutrality and Jay's Treaty (Morse, II, 72 ff.; Hildreth, IV, 411 ff.).
  - 2) Criticises the French Revolution (Lodge, 253 ff.).
  - 3) Opposes Genet.
  - 4) Federalists favor war with France.
- f. Hamilton and the Miranda schemes: evidence of his failing judgment.
- g. Hamilton's dishonorable scheme for robbing Burr and the Republicans of the electoral vote of New York (Lodge, 226-28).
- 3. Antagonism of Hamilton and Burr (Schouler, I, 465, 483-88, II, 61-66; Lodge, 245-71; Morse, I, 345-72; Sumner, 246-50; Hildreth, IV, 296-300, 357-73; Henry Adams, *History of U. S.*, II, 183-91).
  - a. Why Burr challenged Hamilton.
  - b. Why Hamilton accepted the challenge (see Lodge's defense, 250-71).
  - c. Moral effect of the duel: the "code of honor" abolished in the North: sermon of Proctor Knott (Johnston, *American Orations* (first edition), I).
- V. Hamilton the Man (Morse, II, 313-44; Sumner, 250-60; Hildreth, *History of U. S.*, IV, 296; Morris, *Diary of Gouverneur Morris*, II, 456, 474, 523; Schouler, II, 63 ff.; Lodge, 271-84).
  - 1. Personal appearance; manners; eloquence; power as an advocate.
  - 2. Social characteristics.
  - 3. Intellectual traits; literary skill; thoroughness; reasoning power.
  - 4. Moral character.
    - a. Rectitude in public and private business.
    - b. Generosity and sense of justice; courage; sympathy with the weak.
    - c. Political morality: his acts not without minor blemishes.
    - d. Private morals: his fame tarnished by the Reynolds' scandal (see Parton, *Life of Jefferson*; Morse, II, 336-37; Schouler, I, 362-63; Bassett, 215-17).

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Read the sketch in *New International Encyclopaedia*, IX, 499-501. Tyler, *Literary History of the American Revolution*, gives entertaining accounts of Hamilton's early revolutionary writings. The best edition of Hamilton's *Writings* is that of H. C. Lodge. For separate editions of some of his more important papers, consult the University Card Catalogue, and for source-material, see A. B. Hart, *Contemporaries*, Index in vol. IV.

## SECTION IX. THOMAS JEFFERSON, THE FATHER OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY (1743-1826).

I. Early Life of Jefferson, to 1775 (Morse, *Thomas Jefferson*, 1-25; Merwin, *Thomas Jefferson*, 1-35; Curtis, 17-54; Tucker, I, 20-79; Randall, I, 1-110).

1. Uncertainty as to the origin of the Jeffersons; probably from Snowdon, Wales; character of his father, Peter Jefferson (d. 1757); of his mother, Jane Randolph.
2. Education; entered William and Mary College, 1760; his studies, tastes, and pursuits; influence of Professor William Small; law studies in office of George Wythe; the *partie quarrée*.
3. Courtships; marries Widow Skelton, Jan. 1, 1772; worldly goods.
4. At the bar, 1767-1774; his early success compared with that of Patrick Henry (see above Sec. III; and Morse II; Curtis, 55 ff.).

5. Jefferson's love of agriculture; his utilitarian philosophy compared with that of Franklin (Morse, 11-16; Curtis, 90-118).
  6. In the House of Burgesses, 1769-1775.
    - a. Non-importation league, May 1769.
    - b. Intercolonial committees of correspondence created, March, 1773 (Merwin, 37-38).
    - c. Proceedings after news of Boston Port Bill, 1774; Jefferson's "Rights of British America" (Morse, 20-24; Merwin, 38-39).
  7. Jefferson's draft of reply to Lord North's "Olive branch," adopted by Burgesses, June 10, 1775.
- II. Jefferson the Statesman and Diplomatist, 1775-1784 (Merwin, 36-70; Curtis, 119-139; Morse, 26-76; Tucker, I, 79-188; Randall, I, 111 f.).
1. In the Revolution: the Declaration of Independence.
  2. Reform work in Virginia (Curtis, 140 ff.; Morse, 43 ff.).
    - a. Abolition of entails.
    - b. Establishment of religious freedom in Virginia, 1777-1786.
    - c. Other measures.
  3. Governor of Virginia, 1779-1781 (Morse, 55 ff.).
  4. In the Burgesses, 1781-1783.
  5. Envoy and minister to France, 1784-1789 (Merwin, 71-81; Morse, 77-95; Tucker, I, 189-279; Randall, I, 411 ff.).
    - a. Influence of Jefferson on the French Revolution.
    - b. Influence of the French Revolution on Jefferson.
  6. Secretary of state, 1790-1793 (Morse, 96 ff.; Merwin, 82 ff.; Tucker, I, 340 ff.; Randall, I, 554 ff.).
    - a. Rivalry of Jefferson and Hamilton.
    - b. Party dissension (Curtis, 269 ff.; Tucker, I, 372 ff.).
  7. Vice-President, 1797-1801 (Morse, 173 ff.).
    - a. Jefferson, leader of the Republicans.
    - b. Kentucky Resolutions.
    - c. Election of 1800: Burr and Jefferson in the House: influence of Hamilton against Burr.
- III. Rise and Fall of the Federalist Party: the Revolution of 1800.
1. Services of the Federalists: work of Hamilton; influence of Washington.
  2. Causes of the fall of the Federalists.

- a. Foreign policy: indiscretions of the "war party" lead to "alien and sedition laws," and to war with France.
- b. Domestic policy: the direct tax.
- c. Party dissensions; Adams's cabinet; the "Essex Junto"; characteristics of Adams; his "midnight appointments"; the new circuit courts.
- d. Aristocratic tendencies; views of Hamilton; of Adams.

#### IV. Character and Policy of Thomas Jefferson (Hildreth, V, 419 ff.; Hart, 176-78; Schouler, II, 200 ff.).

- 1. His personal appearance (Adams, *United States*, I, 185-87).
- 2. Sources of his great influence over the masses.
  - a. Sincere confidence in the rising principle of pure democracy of which he was the best exponent.
  - b. Capacity to organize; to draft public documents; literary skill.
  - c. Social powers; table talk.
- 3. Faults and limitations.
  - a. Mistaken view of human nature.
  - b. Too much self-confidence.
  - c. A poor speaker; lacked aggressive power, but able to lead others to fight for him.
- 4. His theories (Morse, *Jefferson*, 90-93, 103, 209-18; Schouler, I, 2-15).
  - a. Champion of religious liberty; the friend of science and the enemy of slavery.
  - b. Political doctrines.
    - 1) Influence of Rousseau and the French Revolution: believer in little government and the rule of the masses rather than the classes.
    - 2) A strict constructionist; drafted the Kentucky Resolutions.
    - 3) Hated a national debt and thought internal improvements unconstitutional.
    - 4) Disliked the use of force against insurrections: attitude toward Shays' Rebellion and the Whiskey Insurrection.
    - 5) Opposed a standing army and a large navy.
  - c. In some respects he was far ahead of his age: the

leader in many ideas which have prevailed in the thought of the century.

#### V. Jefferson's Administration.

1. His theory of republican government compared with that of the Federalists.
2. Theory and practice as to the civil service.
3. Repeal of judiciary act, 1802; *Marybury vs. Madison*, 1803; impeachments of Pickering and Chase.
4. Louisiana purchase, 1803.
5. The "restrictive system"; failure of the policy of "non-resistance."
6. Jefferson's services to the nation.

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All the histories of the period have discussions: see Hart, *Formation of the Union*, 154-98; Bryant and Gay, *United States*, I, 144-84; Von Holst, *Constitutional History*, I, 168-226; Tucker, *United States*, II, 146 ff.; Bradford, *Constitutional History*, I, 202-329; Hildreth, *United States*, V, 419 ff.; McMaster, II, 533 ff., 583 ff.; Schouler, *United States*, II, 1 ff.; Van Tyne, *American Revolution*, 82-85, 249; McLaughlin, *Confederation and Constitution*, 7, 41, 107, 114-17, 175; Bassett, *Federalist System*, Index; Channing, *Jeffersonian System*, Index and Table of Contents; especially Henry Adams, *United States*, vols. I-IV, the best account of Jefferson's administration.

There are also interesting passages in Adams, *Randolph*, 48-61, 71-73, 123-31; Gay, *Madison*, 252-56; Stevens, *Gallatin*, 289 ff.; and Adams, *Gallatin* (1879).

For source materials, see Jefferson's *Works* (Congressional ed., 1853-55); the better edition of P. L. Ford (10 vols., 1892-99); T. J. Randolph, *Memoirs and Correspondence of Jefferson* (4 vols., 1829); Williams, *Statesman's Manual*, I, 139 ff.; Richardson, *Messages*, I, 317-461; J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, I, 248-551, Index; Johnston, *Orations*, I, 99-108; W. Sullivan, *Familiar Letters*, 187-289; Goodrich, *Recollections*, I, 106-37, 265-98; MacDonald, *Select Documents*, 1-6, 149-71; H. B. Tompkins, *Bibliotheca Jeffersonia* (1887); and A. B. Hart, *Contemporaries*, Index in vol. IV. Other accounts are C. DeWitt, *Thomas Jefferson, Etude Historique* (Paris, 1861); the same translated by R. S. H. Church (London, 1862); Theodore Dwight, *The Character of Thomas Jefferson as exhibited in his own Writings* (1839); and Gaillard Hunt, "Office-Seeking during Jefferson's Administration," in *American Hist. Review*, III, 270-91. Manuscripts of Jefferson in the Library of Congress are calendared in Bureau of Rolls and Library, Department of State, *Bulletins*, VI, VIII, X.



## SECTION X. JOHN MARSHALL, THE EXPOUNDER OF THE CONSTITUTION (1755-1835).

### I. Characteristics of John Marshall.

1. Parentage and early education.
2. Services in the Revolution; as a soldier; as a judge advocate of the army.
3. Legal education, 1779-81.
4. At the bar, 1781-1801.
  - a. State of Virginia law after the Revolution; Marshall's peculiar fitness for his task (Magruder, 28 ff.).
  - b. Personal appearance; style of speaking (Howe, *Historical Collections*, 266; Wirt, in Magruder, 35-37; Gilmer, in Magruder, 66; Adams, *U. S.*, I, 193).
  - c. Prestige as a lawyer; the case of *Ware vs. Hilton*, 1796 (3 Dallas, 199; *Const. Hist. and Amer. Law*, 67).

### II. Public Services, 1782-1801.

1. In the legislature, 1782, 1784, 1787; in the executive council, 1783.
2. In the Virginia constitutional convention, 1788 (Magruder, 57-87: three speeches, on taxation, militia, and judiciary (Elliot, III, 222, 419, 551-5)).
3. A member of the French mission, 1797-8.
4. In Congress, 1799-1801.
5. Refuses appointment as minister to France, attorney general, judge of the supreme court, and secretary of war (1796-1801).
6. Became secretary of state.
7. Appointed chief justice.

### III. Marshall and Jefferson.

1. Marshall's *Life of Washington*, and Jefferson's *Anas*.
2. Marshall and the inauguration of Jefferson (Adams, *U. S.*, I, 193).

### IV. John Marshall and the Settlement of the Constitution.

1. Significance of his opportunity: what the constitution "might have been" through a different interpretation.
  - a. Complexity of his task.
  - b. Popular sentiment regarding the constitution (Von Holst, I, 62-3, 83; Bryce, I, 223; Bancroft, *Constitution*, II, 363 (Washington); Marshall, *Washington*, V, 33).

2. He reveals the powers of the supreme court.

a. Previous to 1801 less than 100 decisions by the court.

b. Of these decisions, only six involved constitutional questions.

1) *Chisholm vs. Georgia*, 1792-4 (2 Dallas, 419, 480; *Constitutional History*, 70-1).

2) *Hollingsworth vs. Virginia* (3 Dallas, 378 ff.).

3) *Fowler vs. Lindsey*, 1799 (3 Dallas, 411). Cf. Marshall's decision in *Osborn vs. U. S. Bank* (9 Wheaton, 846-859).

4) *Hylton vs. U. S.*, 1796 (3 Dallas, 171). Cf. *Pacific Ins. Co. vs. Soule* (7 Wallace, 433-4).

5) *Calder vs. Bull*, 1798, relating to ex post facto laws (3 Dallas, 386).

6) *Cooper vs. Telfair*, 1800 (4 Dallas, 14). In the last two cases, the court does not decide that it can declare unconstitutional laws void (see *Const. History*, 72-3, and the authorities there cited). Hayburn's case, 1792 (2 Dallas, 410), illustrates the early timidity of the court (*Const. Hist.*, 73-6).

c. Immense number of Marshall's opinions, 1801-1835.

1) In all, 1215 reported cases.

2) In 1106 of these opinions are filed, Marshall rendering 519.

3) Of these 1106 opinions, 62 involve constitutional points, Marshall rendering 36.

V. Some Leading Decisions.

1. *Marbury vs. Madison*, 1803 (1 Cranch, 137).

2. "Olmstead case": *United States vs. Peters*, 1809 (5 Cranch, 137; Hildreth, III, chap. xxii).

3. *Cohens vs. Virginia*, 1821 (6 Wheaton, 264). Cf. *Martin vs. Hunter's Lessee*, 1816 (1 Wheaton, 304, 323, 362).

4. *McCulloch's vs. Maryland*, 1819 (4 Wheaton, 416, 421).

5. *Osborn vs. Bank of United States*, 1824; *Weston vs. Charleston*, 1829 (9 Wheaton, 738; 2 Peters, 440).

6. *American Insurance Co. vs. Canter*, 1828 (1 Peters, 511, 542).

7. *Fletcher vs. Peck*, 1810 (6 Cranch, 87, 135-40; cf. Haskins, in *American Historical Association, Papers*, V, 395 ff.).

8. *Dartmouth College vs. Woodward*, 1819 (4 Wheaton, 518; cf. Van Santvoord, *Lives of Chief Justices*, 394-98).

9. Ogden vs. Saunders, 1827 (12 Wheaton, 213).
10. The Burr trial (4 Cranch, note B, 473; Adams, *United States*, III, 441-71; Robertson, *Burr Trial* (Philadelphia, 1808); Kennedy, *Life of Wirt*, I, 161-206; Van Santvoord, 364-79).

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## SECTION XI. JAMES MONROE AND HIS DOCTRINE (1758-1831).

## A. Chief Events in Monroe's Career.

## I. Early Life.

1. Descent and parentage (Gilman, 4-5, 218-20).
  - a. According to tradition, his ancestors were Scotch cavaliers; Hector Monroe, an officer of Charles I.
  - b. Father was Spence Monroe; mother was Eliza, sister of Joseph Jones, who was twice elected to Continental Congress.
2. Educated at William and Mary.
  - a. Monroe's literary attainments; extent and value of his writings.
  - b. His public documents and state papers.
  - c. Not a forceful speaker.
3. Marries Eliza Kortwright, of New York, 1786; same year he begins law practice in Fredericksburg (Gilman, 175 ff.).
4. Personal appearance.

## II. Monroe the Soldier, 1776-1780.

1. Lieutenant in 3d Virginia regiment, 1776; aide to Lord Stirling, 1777-8.
2. Battles in which he fought; compare his career with Marshall's.
3. Becomes lieutenant colonel in 1780.

### III. Official Career.

1. Member of the Virginia legislature, 1782, and later.
2. Delegate to the Congress of the Confederation, 1783-1786 (4th, 5th, 6th Congress).
  - a. Efforts to amend Articles of Confederation, 1785 (Gilman, 19-22; Bancroft, *History*, VI, 142-45; *idem*, *Constitution*, I, 192-6; Sparks, *Washington*, IX, 503-7).
  - b. Efforts to organize Northwest Territory (Barrett, *Ordinance of 1787*, 25, 33 ff.; Gilman, 24-6; Bancroft, *History*, VI, 279-80).
3. Member of a special Federal Court to decide the Mass.-New York boundary dispute, 1784-6.
4. 1788: Member of Va. constitutional convention; opposes constitution (Gilman, 27-30; Williams, *Statesman's Manual*, I, 385).
5. Governor of Virginia, 1799-1802, 1811.
6. President of United States, 1817-1825 (see sketch of his administration in Williams, I, 541-62; and consult Schouler, *United States*; Gillman, *Monroe*; Hart, *Formation of Union*; Babcock, *Rise of American Nationality*; Turner, *Rise of the New West*, Index).

### IV. Diplomatic Career.

1. Minister to France, 1794-1796 (Gilman, 36-73; Schouler, I, 317-26; Bassett, 211-14).
  - a. Effect on France of Jay's treaty with England.
  - b. Monroe's indiscretions; and the blunders of the American state department.
  - c. Washington's censure and recall of Monroe; Monroe's defense (Gilman, 64 ff., 221 ff.).
2. Special minister to France, 1803: the purchase of Louisiana (Gilman, 74-93; Schouler, II, 37-49; Adams, *United States*).
3. Missions to England and Spain, 1803-1807 (Schouler, II, 49, 95, 135 ff.; Gilman, 93-103; Channing, *The Jeffersonian System*, 147-49, 180, 203-207; Adams, *United States*, Index).

- a. The West Florida question.
- b. England and the American grievances.
- c. Why the treaty was rejected?

V. Monroe as Secretary of State, Secretary of War, and virtually Secretary of the Treasury under Madison (Gilman, 104-24, 200; Williams, I, 388-9; Babcock, *Rise of Am. Nationality*, Index; Schouler, II, III).

VI. Monroe and the Policy of International Improvements (see his message in Williams, I, 492-534; or in Richardson, *Messages*, II, 144 ff.; Turner, *op. cit.*, 224 ff.; Schouler, III, 247 ff. Turner, 348-51, has a full bibliography of this subject).

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See also J. Q. Adams, *James Monroe* (1850); W. O. Stoddard, *Lives of the Presidents*, III, 29-224; Thatcher, *Ideas that have Influenced Civilization*, VIII, 289-92; *New International Encyclopædia*, at "Monroe."

#### B. Origin and Development of the Monroe Doctrine.

I. Origin of the Principle (Gilman, *Monroe*, 156-74; Schouler, III, 277 ff., 289-93, note; Tucker, *Monroe Doctrine*, 1-11; Hart, *American History Leaflets*, No. 4, pp. 1-13).

1. Evolution of the doctrine of neutrality and non-intervention.

a. Washington's influence.

b. Influence of Madison and Jefferson.

c. Other evidence of the rise of a popular sentiment in favor (see Gilman, *Monroe*, 156 ff.).

2. J. Q. Adams's share in formulating the doctrine (Tucker, 21-22; especially Ford, in *American Historical Review*, VII, 676-96; and Reddaway, 69 ff. See also Ford, in Mass. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, 2d series, XV, 373-436).

II. Immediate Cause of the Assertion of the Doctrine (Schouler, III, 277 ff.; Tucker, 6-11; Hart, 241-43; *North American Review*, XVII, 373-75; Reddaway, 12 ff.; Keasbey, 123 ff.; Ford, 676 ff.).

1. Revolt of the Spanish-American colonies (Dyer, *Modern Europe*, V, 370).

a. First revolt, 1808; returned to nominal allegiance, 1814.

- b. Second revolt, 1816-22 (Hart, 241, 242; Schouler, III, 255); work of Bolivar.
  - 2. The "Holy Alliance" of Prussia, Austria, and Russia, September 26, 1815; a league in favor of "legitimacy," i. e. "despotism" (Seignobos, *Pol. Hist.*, 762).
  - 3. The congress at Laybach (in Styria), 1820: intervention of Holy Alliance to suppress revolution in Naples.
  - 4. The congress at Verona, 1822.
    - a. To consider the insurrection against Ferdinand VII of Spain. The latter is restored by Louis XVIII of France, with approval of the alliance.
    - b. Question of assisting the revolting Spanish colonies raised: Spain asks intervention.
  - 5. The (revolted) Spanish-American states recognized by United States, 1822 (Schouler, III, 255).
  - 6. Russian plans for colonization in the Northwest.
    - a. Russian claims (Schuyler, *Diplomacy*, 294-97).
    - b. The ukase of 1821.
    - c. Secretary Adams's declaration to Baron Tuyl, July 17, 1823 (Hart, *Leaflets*, II).
  - 7. Canning and Richard Rush (Schouler, III, 282-86; Ford, 676 ff.).
    - a. Canning proposes that Great Britain and the United States unite in a declaration against European intervention in American colonies.
    - b. Motives of England.
    - c. Was Rush justified in declining?
- III. Monroe States the Doctrine in His Seventh Annual Message, December 2, 1823 (Williams, I, 460-62; Hart, *Leaflets*, 13; Tucker, 15 ff.).
- 1. American continent not subject to European colonization. meaning (Dana, *Wheaton*, 103; Webster, *Works*, III, 178).
  - 2. No European interposition in affairs of American states: meaning (Dana, *Wheaton*, 110, 111; Tucker, 122 ff.).
  - 3. No extension of European system in America.
  - 4. Second declaration in Monroe's eighth annual message (Hart, *Leaflets*, 14, 15; Tucker, 19; Williams, I, 465 ff.).
- IV. Immediate Effects of the Declaration (Gilman, 171-74; Schouler, III, 292, 293; Von Holst, I, 421 ff.).
- 1. On the United States Constitution: an executive declara-

tion never confirmed as a whole by Congress. Clay's resolution (Benton, *Abridgment*, VII, 650-52; Tucker, 21).

2. On Europe: joint intervention abandoned; and Spain gives up reconquest of her revolted colonies.
3. On Russia: treaty of 1824 (Schouler, 297-304).
4. On the American states.
5. On England: she recognizes the American states.

V. History of the Doctrine (Tucker, *Monroe Doctrine*, 23 ff.).

1. The Panama Congress, 1826 (Tucker, 23-26; Von Holst, I, chap. xi; Henderson, 342 ff.).
  - a. Wish of the United States: to form an agreement with American states as to maintenance of doctrine.
  - b. Messages and discussions leading to appointment of United States envoys to the Congress.
  - c. Opposition of the slavery party (see Von Holst).
  - d. No action.
2. Proposed intervention in Yucatan, 1848; Polk's doctrine.
  - a. Causes.
  - b. Calhoun's speech on limitation of the doctrine (Calhoun, *Works*, IV, 454; Tucker, 93-112).
3. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, April 19, 1850, and the inter-oceanic canal (Lalor III, 948; Tucker, 43-76; *Treaties and Conventions*, 440-44).
  - a. The occasion and importance of the treaty.
  - b. Provisions: which clauses led to misunderstandings and negotiations?
  - c. History: negotiations for modification; question of right of United States to avoid treaty.
    - 1) Blaine, 1881.
    - 2) Hay, 1900.
4. Cuba (Tucker, 77-91): why its possession was important to England; to the United States. The Filibusters and the Ostend manifesto (Hart, *Leaflets*, No. 2; Lalor, II, 184, III, 36; Rhodes, II, 11-44; Von Holst, index at "Cuba").
5. French intervention in Mexico, 1861-66. Did the United States maintain the doctrine?
6. Other cases of application of the doctrine.

VI. Expansion of the Doctrine (Hart, "Monroe Doctrine and the

Doctrine of Permanent Interest," in *American Historical Review*, VII).

1. The original meaning, 1823.
2. Polk's doctrine, 1845-49; annex to prevent annexation.
3. Seward's view in case of France and Mexico, 1861-67 (Curtis, 101 ff.).
4. Blaine's doctrine, 1881: United States to be sole guardian of the isthmian canal, and the arbiter of disputes between Latin American powers (Foster, 461 ff.).
5. Olney's doctrine, 1895 (Foster, 467 ff.; Henderson, 411 ff.).

#### VII. What should be the Policy of the United States?

1. Shall the Monroe doctrine be abandoned?
2. Shall the United States participate in the world's affairs?
3. Moral responsibilities of a great nation.

#### REFERENCES TO MONROE DOCTRINE.

A. B. Hart, "The Monroe Doctrine and the Doctrine of Permanent Interest," in *American Historical Review*, VII, 77-91; or the same in his *Foundations of American Foreign Policy* (New York and London, 1901), 211-40; Ford, "John Quincy Adams and the Monroe Doctrine," in *American Historical Review*, VII, 676-96, VIII, 28-52; Keasbey, *The Nicaragua Canal and the Monroe Doctrine* (New York and London, 1896), 123 ff., 556 ff.; Reddaway, *The Monroe Doctrine* (Cambridge, 1898), 12 ff., 69 ff., 91 ff.; Foster, *A Century of American Diplomacy* (Boston, 1900), 438 ff.; Henderson, *American Diplomatic Questions* (New York and London, 1901), 289-448; Travis, *History of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty* (Ann Arbor, 1900); Tucker, *Monroe Doctrine* (Boston, 1885); Latine, *Diplomatic Relations of the United States and Spanish America* (Baltimore, 1900); Curtis, *The United States and Foreign Powers* (New York, 1899), 93 ff.; Reinsch, *World Politics* (New York, 1900); Schouler, III, as cited; Hart, *Formation of the Union*, 241-44; Gilman, *Monroe*, 156-74; Wharton, *Digest of International Law*, secs. 57-61, 72; Dana's *Wheaton's International Law*, 97-112; Von Holst, I, 409 ff.; Schuyler, *Diplomacy*, as cited; Morse, *J. Q. Adams*, 128-38; Lalor, I, 66-69, II, 898-900; Williams, *Statesman's Manual*, I, 462, 465 ff.; *Treaties and Conventions*; Kasson, in *North American Review*, CXXIII, 241-54, 523-33; *Nation*, XXXIV, 9; Bibliography, J. F. Jameson, in *Gilman's Monroe*, 269-80; also one by Turner, in *Rise of New West*, 351-52. See Burgess, in *Pol. Sc. Quarterly*, II, 44 ff.; and Moore, in *ibid.*, II, 1 ff.; G. W. Crichfield, *American Supremacy* (1908); T. B. Edgington, *Monroe Doctrine* (1904); A. B. Hart, *Contemporaries*, III, 494-98; and University Card Catalogue.

#### SECTION XII. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, A PURITAN SCHOLAR IN POLITICS (1767-1848).

##### A. Adams the Man.

#### I. The Adams Family: Characteristics.

#### II. Early Life of John Quincy Adams.

##### 1. Education.



2. Moral and intellectual traits.
3. Personal appearance; habits.
4. Public experience before becoming president.

*B. Adams the President.*

I. Election of 1824; Candidates: Jackson, Clay, Crawford, and Adams.

II. Election in the House, 1825.

1. Was the choice of Adams constitutional?
2. Question of a "corrupt bargain" between Adams and Clay.

III. The Election of 1828.

1. Opposition to Adams.
  - a. Question of abuse of patronage.
  - b. Question of extravagance and fiscal abuse.
2. Triumph of Jackson; signs of a new era.

IV. General Policy of Adams's Administration.

*C. Adams and Federal Patronage.*

I. Evolution of the Spoils System before Jackson.

1. Intention of the framers of the Constitution: Madison's declaration (*Annals of Congress*, First Congress, first session, 498).
2. Rise of the system in the states.

a. Introduced into Pennsylvania by Governor McKean, 1799, 1805; criticised for his course, but not impeached (Hildreth, V, 362, 591).

b. In New York.

- 1) Monopoly of patronage by the great families (Roosevelt, *New York*, 161).
- 2) Jay's honorable course (Jay, *Jay*, 392).
- 3) Aaron Burr establishes the machine in New York, 1801 (Roberts, *New York*, II, 481); Burr's maxims as to political management (Lalor, III, 783).
- 4) DeWitt Clinton proves himself a worthy pupil of Burr; use of the Council of Appointment (for the constitutional provision, see Poore, II, 1336).
- 5) Van Buren (disciple of Burr) and the "Albany Regency." After the fall of "King Caucus" he carries the corrupt machine into the wards and primaries (Von Holst, II, 21; Lalor, I, 45).

- 6) Senator Marcy's celebrated declaration, 1832:  
"To the victor belong the spoils of the enemy."
3. Causes leading to the introduction of the system in the federal patronage.
  - a. Rapid increase in the number and value of federal offices.
    - 1) The civil service in 1789 (Lalor, III, 139, 140).
    - 2) The civil service, 1800-1809 (Sybert, 706).
    - 3) Present state of civil service (*Statesman's Year Book*, 1891, p. 1058; *idem*, 1907; *Reports of United States Civil Service Commissioner*; especially Ninth Report; Tenth Report, 3, and later Reports.
  - b. The overthrow of the congressional caucus.
    - 1) Its rise and history, 1804-24; was the practice unconstitutional? (See Constitution, art. II. sec. i, par. 2).
    - 2) Causes of its fall: the attack of Niles (*Register*, XXIV, 195, 322; Sumner, *Jackson*, 79; Von Holst, II, 2).
      - (a) Crawford's caucus nomination.
      - (b) The four candidates in the same party might make caucus nomination equivalent to an election by Congress.
      - (c) Jackson a candidate outside of party.
    - 3) Effects: Van Buren teaches how to "pack the primaries"; the demagogue supersedes the statesman in politics (Landon, *Constitutional History*, 149).
  - c. The "Demos Krato" principle vs. the theory of the constitution growing out of the election in the House, 1826 (Von Holst, II, 7; Stanwood, 87, 88; Sumner, *Jackson*, 97).
  - d. Rotation in office as a "republican" principle.
4. Significance of the Four Years' Tenure Act, May 15, 1820 (Niles, XVIII, 234; *Annals of Congress*, Sixteenth Congress, I, 25; II, 2598).
  - a. Alleged motive of Crawford (Lalor, III, 900; J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, VII, 424. Cf. Fish, 66 ff.).
  - b. How regarded at the time by statesmen.
  - c. Effects (Sumner, *Jackson*, 83; Schouler, III, 175; Hart, 246; Lalor, III, 900).

## 5. The thirst for office increased.

II. History of Appointments, 1789-1829 (Salmon, *Appointing Power*; Fish, *Civil Service and Patronage*, 1-104).1. Washington's policy (Marshall, *Washington*, I, 150, 151; Schouler, I, 107 ff.; Salmon, 315; Hildreth, IV, 131, 132; Niles, XX, 249, XLII, 9).

## 2. John Adams's policy.

a. Adopts Washington's principles; 19 removals in four years as against 17 by Washington (Niles, XLII, 9; Morse, *Adams*, 293-303; Fish, 13, 20).

b. Censured for appointing relatives.

c. The "midnight appointments."

## 3. Jefferson's policy (see Fish, 29 ff.).

4. Monroe's policy (Gilman, *Monroe*, 191; Fish, see Index).

a. Jackson's advice (Niles, XXVI, 164; Williams, I, 544, 545).

b. But few removals, and those for cause.

c. Inadvertently signs the Tenure Act, 1820; but takes no partisan advantage of it.

## 5. Policy of John Q. Adams (Schouler, III, 343 ff.).

a. Admirable in its purpose, but almost too indulgent of political enemies, even those suspected of corruption.

b. Only two removals, and those for cause.

c. His lesson for Americans.

## D. Adams and Slavery, 1829-1848.

## REFERENCES.

I. *General References*.—The best short biography is that of Morse, *John Quincy Adams* (1882). There are also a *Life of Adams* (1849) by W. H. Seward; a *Memoir* (1858) by Josiah Quincy. Adams's *Memoirs* (12 vols., 1874-1877) are a mine of information regarding himself and his contemporaries. See also Schouler, *United States*, III; Hart, *Formation of the Union*, 245-62; Johnston, *Politics*; Stanwood, *History of the Presidency* (1898); Von Holst, *Constitutional History*, II, 1 ff.; Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, I, 46-50. Consult the indexes to the volumes by Babcock, Turner, MacDonald, Hart, and Garrison, in the "American Nation" series; and Hart's *Contemporaries*.

II. *Origin of the Spoils System*.—Salmon, "Appointing Power," in Am. Hist. Ass., *Papers*, I, No. 5; Fish, 79-104; Lalor, *Cyclopædia*, I, 139 ff., II, 783-87, III, 895 ff.; Hart, *Formation of the Union*, 246; Shepard, *Van Buren*, 32-45; Roberts, *New York*, II, 466-84; Roosevelt, *New York*, 156-65; Hildreth, V, 360, 363, 591, 424; Sybert, *Statistical Annals*, 705, 378; Niles, *Register*, XXIV-V, and Index; Sumner, *Jackson*, 145 ff.; Merriam, in Am. Hist. Ass., *Papers*, II; Adams, *United States*, Index; Morse, *J. Q. Adams*; Reports of U. S. Civil Service Commission; Eaton, *Civil Service*.

Of special value are the articles of Carl R. Fish, "Removal of Officials by the Presidents of the United States," in *American Historical Association, Report*, 1899, I, 67-86; supplemented by *idem*, "Lincoln and Patronage," in *American Historical Review*, VIII, 53-69; and Gaillard Hunt, "Office-Seeking during Washington's Administration," in *American Historical Review*, I, 270-83; *idem*, the same "during John Adams's Administration," in *ibid.*, II, 241-61; *idem*, the same "during Jefferson's Administration," in *ibid.*, III, 270-91. On DeWitt Clinton, Burr, VanBuren and other makers of the "Spoils System," see S. P. Orth, *Five American Politicians* (1906).

III. *Jackson and the Spoils System*.—Sumner, *Jackson*, 136 ff.; Schouler, III, 451-65; Johnston, *Politics* 112-113; Parton, *Jackson*; Curtis, *Webster*; Ormsby, *Whig Party*, 185 ff.; Bradford, *United States*, 369-70; Williams, *Stateman's Manual*, II, 961 ff.; Macdonald, *Jacksonian Democracy*, 54 ff.; Buell, *Jackson*; Lucy M. Salmon, *Appointing Power*, 54-86; Carl R. Fish, *Civil Service and Patronage* (1905), 105 ff.

### SECTION XIII. ANDREW JACKSON, A FRONTIERSMAN IN POLITICS (1767-1845).

#### A. *Evolution of Jackson's Personality (1767-1828).*

I. Boyhood, 1767-1787 (Sumner, *Andrew Jackson*, 1-25; Brown, *Andrew Jackson*, 1-45; Buell, *History of Andrew Jackson*, I, 16-241; Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, I, 29-349; Trent, in *New International Encyclopaedia*, XI, 73-75).

1. Jackson's Scotch-Irish parents, of Carrickfergus, came to Twelve-Mile Creek, S. C., 1765; Andrew born at Waxhaw, N. C., March 15, 1767 (Buell, I, 16-33; Parton, I, 29-58; Brown, 1-6).

2. His inferior rudimentary education (Buell, I, 34 ff.; Parton, I, 62 ff.; Sumner, 3).

a. At the Old Field School; at Dr. Humphries's "Academy" in Waxhaw; and perhaps elsewhere.

b. Question of his attendance at Queen's College, N. C.

c. Myth regarding Dr. Waddell's academy.

d. Results of his schooling (Parton, I, 67-9, 237; Sumner, 3, 15; Buell, I, 34-38, 40).

3. Youthful traits and habits.

4. Jackson and the Jackson family in the Revolution (Parton, I, 70-96; Buell, I, 38 f.; Sumner, 2-4).

5. Jackson the school teacher, 1781-3.

6. Jackson the law-student (Parton, I, 96-110; Brown, 11-12; Buell, I, 61-69).

a. With Spruce McCay at Salisbury, N. C., 1784-85; and with John Stokes, 1785-87.

b. Admission to the bar of N. C., 1787.

7. Jackson at twenty; character and personal appearance (Parton, I, 61, 110-115).

II. Early Manhood: Vicissitudes of the American-Frontier, 1788-1811 (Sumner, 5-25; Brown, 12-45; Parton, I, 115-360; Buell, I, 70-241).

1. The Tennessee lawyer, 1788 (Parton, I, 134 ff.).
  - a. Social prestige of the legal profession on the South-western border.
  - b. Duties of a prosecuting attorney in early Tennessee.
2. Jackson's irregular marriage with Mrs. Rachel Robards (née Donelson), 1791; ceremony repeated (after divorce from Robards), 1794; effects of the marriage on Jackson's career? (see Parton, I, 145 ff.; Sumner, 8-10).
3. Jackson, the fighting lawyer (Parton, I, 155-169).
4. Member of the Tennessee Constitutional Convention, 1796.
5. Member of U. S. House of Representatives, 1796; Jackson a "Filthy Democrat" (Irving, *Life of Washington*, V; Parton, I, 196 ff.; Buell, I, 97 ff.).
6. Member of U. S. Senate, 1797-1798 (resigned).
7. Major General of Militia, 1801 ff.
8. Judge of the Tennessee Supreme Court, 1798-1804 (resigned); planter and merchant (Buell, I, 126-52).
9. Jackson and Burr, 1805-1807: why he was attracted by Burr's supposed projects (Buell, I, 183 ff.; Adams, *United States*, III).
10. Various events and occupations, 1807-1811 (Buell, I, 210 ff.; Sumner, 23-25).
  - a. Planter and horse-breeder.
  - b. Home life at the "Hermitage."
  - c. Jackson's selection of Blount for governor (1808-15).
  - d. Becomes acquainted with Thomas Hart Benton.
  - e. War with Silas Dinsmore, the U. S. Choctaw Indian Agent, 1810-1812 (Sumner, 23-4; Buell, I, 238-41; Parton, I, 349-60).
11. Jackson's personality at the close of this period.
  - a. His preparation for political and military leadership.
  - b. Evidences of his capacity.
  - c. Evidences of his violent temper: Jackson the duelist.

III. Jackson the "Military Hero," 1811-1824 (Parton, I, 360 ff.; Buell, I, 242 ff.; Sumner, 26 ff.).

1. "Old Hickory," and the volunteers for defense of New Orleans and the Southwest, 1812-13; feud with the Bentons.
2. The Soldier in the Creek War, 1813-14 (Sumner, 32-36); becomes major-general in U. S. Army, May 31, 1813.
3. Capture of Pensacola, November, 1814.
4. The defense of New Orleans (Parton, II, 11 ff.; Buell, II, 1 ff.).
  - a. The night-battle (see especially Roosevelt, *Naval War of 1812*, last chapter; and Buell, I, 385-432).
  - b. The victory of Jan. 8, 1815 (Buell, II, 1 ff.).
  - c. Jackson and Florida: the Seminole War, 1818.
    - 1) Importance of the war.
    - 2) Execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, April 29, 1818; the later proceedings in Congress and in Monroe's Cabinet; the basis of Jackson's feuds with Clay, Calhoun, and Crawford.

#### IV. Jackson and the Elections of 1824 and 1828. See preceding syllabus for election 1824.

##### REFERENCES FOR THE PERIOD, 1767-1828.

See the works of Sumner, Buell, Parton, Brown, and Trent, already cited. Further, consult E. E. Sparks, *Men who made the Nation*, 282-317; Peck, *Jacksonian Epoch* (N. Y., 1899); Benton, *Thirty Years' View*; Roosevelt, *Naval War of 1812*; Kendall, *Life of Jackson* (N. Y., 1844); Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee* (1853); MacDonald, *Jacksonian Democracy*, 16-27; Turner, *Rise of the New West*, Index at "Jackson"; Babcock, *Rise of American Nationality*, Index at "Jackson"; Schouler, *United States*, II, 439-44, and Index; Roosevelt, *Thos. H. Benton*, 28 ff., 59-61, and Index; Von Holst, *Calhoun*, 88-93, 104-106, and Index; Hildreth, *United States*, I, 691-2, 696, II, 175, 195, 597-8, 615, III, 397, 407, 447-50, 477-80, 521-2, 559-65 (New Orleans), 575-76, 628, 640-47, 654-57; Adams, *United States*, Index to Vol. IX, at "Jackson"; Hart, *Formation of the Union*, 189, 213, 221, 249-50; Walker, *Making of the Nation*, 239-45; Morse, *John Quincy Adams*, Index; Von Holst, *Constitutional History*, II, 29-31., III, 5, and Index; Parton, *General Jackson* (1893); McMaster, *People of the United States*, II, 33-34, 285, III, Index, IV, Index; Dusenberry, *Monument to the Memory of Gen. Andrew Jackson* (1846); Stoddard, in his *Lives of the Presidents*, IV, 1-248; Thatcher, *Ideas that have influenced Civilization*, VIII, 275-85.

See *Bibliographies* in Hart and Channing, *Handbook*, 92-93, 348, 359, 364, 366-74; Parton, *Life of Jackson*, I, pp. xiii-xxv; Sumner, *Andrew Jackson*, 386-92; and source-material in Hart, *Contemporaries*, III, 483-87, 531-35, 540-44, 548-53.

#### B. The Problems of Jackson's Administration (1829-1837).

##### I. Jackson and the Spoils System.

1. Growth of the system before Jackson. See this syllabus, Sec. XII.

2. Jackson's personal influence.
3. Details as to official appointments and dismissals.

## REFERENCES.

Sumner, *Jackson*, 136 ff.; Johnston, *Politics*, 112-13; D. B. Eaton, in Lalor, *Cyclopædia*, III, 783-87; MacDonald, *Jacksonian Democracy*, 54 ff.; Schouler, *United States*, III, 451-65; Parton, *Jackson*, III; Buell, *Jackson*, II, 207 ff.; Brown, *Jackson*, 121 ff.; Ormsby, *Whig Party*, 185 ff.; Bradford, *United States*, 369-70; Curtis, *Daniel Webster*, I, 347-48; Schurz, *Henry Clay*, I, 332 ff., II, 183-84; Roosevelt, *Benton*, 69 ff.; Williams, *Statesman's Manual*, II, 961 ff.; Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, 26-34; Eaton, *History of the Civil Service* (1880); especially Carl R. Fish, *Civil Service and Patronage* (1905), 105 ff.; Lucy M. Salmon, *Appointing Power*, 54-85.

## II. Jackson and Nullification.

1. Origin of the Nullification incident; the Tariff Act of 1828; comparison of the doctrines of Jefferson and Calhoun.
2. Nullification in South Carolina; the ordinance of Nov. 24, 1832 (MacDonald, *Select Documents*, 268-71).
3. How Jackson suppressed the nullification movement; his proclamation (MacDonald, *Select Documents*, 273-283).

## REFERENCES.

Schurz, *Henry Clay*, II, 1-22; MacDonald, *Jacksonian Democracy*, 148-68; Buell, *Jackson*, II, 233-63; Sumner, *Jackson*, 207-23; Parton, *Jackson*, III, chaps. xxxii-xxxiv; Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, 55-62; Von Holst, *Constitutional History*, I, chap. xii; *idem*, *Calhoun*, chap. iv; Houston, *Critical Study of Nullification*, being *Harvard Historical Studies*, III; Bolles, *Financial History*, II, 282-433; Gass, *History of Tariff Administration*, being *Columbia College Studies*, I, chap. iii; Taussig, *History of the Tariff*, 68-112; Lodge, *Webster*, chaps. vi, vii; Loring, *Nullification*; Curtis, *Webster*, I, chaps. xvi-xix; McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass*, 139-49; Roosevelt, *Benton*, chap. v; Schouler, IV, chap. xiv, sec. iii; Draper, *Civil War*, I, chap. xxi; Wise, *Seven Decades*, chap. vi; Lalor, III, 861; Lodge, *Webster*, 174 ff.; MacDonald, *Select Documents*, 239-59; 268-83.

For bibliography, see Channing and Hart, *Guide*, 370-72; Foster, *References to Presidential Administrations*, 23-24; Houston, *Critical Study*, App. 9.

## III. Jackson and the Bank-War.

1. Origin of the Second Bank of the United States; the Charter of April 10, 1816.
  - a. Capital, \$35,000,000.
  - b. Branches.
2. History of the Bank before Jackson.
  - a. Mistakes and frauds in its administration.
  - b. Character of Nicholas Biddle and of the other directors of the Bank.

- c. The leading case of *McCulloch vs. Maryland* (in 4 Wheaton).
- 3. Jackson's bank policy.
  - a. Message of Dec. 8, 1829.
  - b. Constitutional objections; the veto of the re-charter bill, 1832.
  - c. Personal considerations.
  - d. Methods of attack.
  - e. Results of the veto of the bank bill and of the closing of the Bank.
    - 1) The removal of the deposits.
    - 2) Influence on the financial crisis of 1837-40.

## REFERENCES.

R. P. Falkner, in *New International Encyclopædia*, II, 467-68; A. Johnston, in Lalor, *Cyclopædia*, I, 199-204, giving a list of references, MacDonald, *Jacksonian Democracy*, 112-133, 218 ff.; Buell, *Jackson*, II, 294-328; Parton, *Jackson*, III, chaps. xxxiii-xxxix; Sumner, *Jackson*, 224-49; Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, 69-84; Von Holst, *Constitutional History*, II, 52-79; Bolles, *Financial History*, II, 235-58; Schurz, *Henry Clay*, I, 132, 345, 351-55, 372-74, II, 25 ff., 47-50, 115, 142, 143; Schouler, IV, chap. xiv, sec. i; Curtis, *Webster*, I, chaps. xx-xxiii; Colton, *Henry Clay*, II, chaps. iii-iv; Roosevelt, *Benton*, chap. vi; Tyler, *Taney*; Wise, *Seven Decades*, chap. vii; *American History Leaflets*, No. 24; Benton, *Abridgment*, XII, XIII; Niles, *Register*, XLVI-L; Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, I, chaps. 92-111; Calhoun, *Works*, II, III; Webster, *Works* III, 506-51; MacDonald, *Select Documents*, 207-12; 238, 259-68.

## SECTION XIV. HENRY CLAY, THE COMPROMISER (1777-1852).

A. *Evolution of Clay's Personality (1777-1811).*

- I. Boyhood, 1777-1797 (Schurz, *Henry Clay*, I, 1-12; Trent, in *New International Encyclopædia*, V. 8 ff.; Rogers, *The True Henry Clay*, 17-33).
  - 1. His English ancestor came to Virginia soon after the first colonization; his father was John Clay, a Baptist minister (died, 1781); his mother a daughter of George Hudson, of Hanover Co.
  - 2. Henry was born April 12, 1777, in the "Slashes" neighborhood in Hanover county, Va.
  - 3. His elementary education in the log schoolhouse of the "Slashes" under Peter Deacon; how he won the title, "The Mill-boy of the Slashes." Clay had neither seminary nor college training.
  - 4. Youthful employments.
    - a. The "Boy Behind the Counter," 1791-2, in Richmond.



- b. Clerk in the Va. High Court of Chancery, 1792-96; influence of Chancellor George Wythe; the latter's characteristics and achievements.
- 5. The law-student in office of Attorney-General Brooke of Virginia, 1796-7; admission to the Bar and removal to Kentucky, 1797 (compare with Jackson's experience).
- 6. Clay's personal characteristics at age of 21 (Rogers, 23 ff.; Schurz, I, 25-26, II, 23).

## II. Early Manhood, 1797-1811.

- 1. Characteristics of early Kentucky; arrival of Daniel Boone, 1769; population, 1797, ca. 180,000; Lexington as a "literary and intellectual centre."
- 2. Clay's traits as a lawyer.
  - a. Superficiality; power as a speaker; his popularity (Rogers, 34 ff.).
  - b. His legal ethics; secret of his success in criminal and civil cases.
- 3. Marries Lucretia Hart, 1799; the Ashland estate; Clay as a farmer (Rogers, 44-55).
- 4. First political experience, 1799-1806 (Schurz, I, 27 ff.: Rogers, 56 ff.).
  - a. In popular discussion, he favors the proposed constitutional provision for the gradual emancipation of slaves in Kentucky; nature of the early "philosophic" anti-slavery movement; Patrick Henry's position; courage of Henry Clay.
  - b. Clay's speeches against the "alien and sedition laws."
  - c. In the Kentucky assembly, 1803.
- 5. Fills a vacancy in U. S. Senate, 1806-7 (Schurz, I, 38 ff.).
  - a. Favors "internal improvements."
  - b. Value of this early experience.
- 6. Again in the Ky. assembly, 1807-9; hostility to England; favors the embargo; duel with Humphrey Marshall.
- 7. Again fills a vacancy in U. S. Senate, 1809-10; his peculiar theory of protection to manufacturing industry (Schurz, I, 52-57); his position on the West Florida question; opposes the Bank re-charter.

### *B. Clay the American Statesman, 1811-1852.*

- I. During the War of 1812 (Schurz, I, 67-125; Hart, *Formation of the Union*, 203 ff.; Rogers, 64 ff.; Schouler, II, 336 ff., 348).

1. Clay the "War-Hawk," or leader of the War-Republicans in the House (Rogers, 64-75; Schurz, I, 67 ff.; Von Holst, *Const. Hist.*, I, 225 ff.).
  - a. Leaders associated with Clay.
  - b. Clay favors a strong navy; and the invasion of Canada.
2. Clay the Speaker (Rogers, 90-103; Follett, "Henry Clay as speaker," in *Am. Hist. Asso., Report*, 1891, pp. 257-65; *idem*, *History of the Speakership*; Hart, "The Speaker as Premier," in his *Practical Essays*, 1-19; or the same in *Atlantic*, March, 1891).
  - a. Clay first "draws out" or demonstrates the possibilities of the speaker's powers.
  - b. Dates and other facts as to his long service as speaker.
3. Clay the "peace-maker" (Adams, *United States*, IX, 1-79; Schurz, I, 102-125; Rogers, 76-89; Schouler, II, 431-38).
  - a. Character of the makers and of the proceedings of the Treaty of Ghent.
  - b. Clay's part in the treaty.
- II. Clay in the House, 1815-1824 (Schurz, I, 126-202).
  1. Favors the re-charter of the Bank, 1816; later position (Rogers, 267 ff.).
  2. Champion of protective tariff for safety of the country in war time (1816).
  3. Advocates internal improvements (Hart, 253-55; Schurz, I, 45 ff., 46, 138, 145, 162).
  4. His radical position regarding the Monroe doctrine.
  5. His part in the Missouri Compromise, 1820-21 (Schurz, I, 172-202; Hart, 238-41; Rogers, 235 ff.; Schouler, III,
- III. Clay the Presidential Candidate.
  1. Rivals of Clay, 1824; Clay and Jackson as enemies.
  2. Clay the President-Maker, 1825.
    - a. Election in the House rejects Jackson for Adams: the principle of *demos krates*.
    - b. Clay, Adams, and the "dirty bargain" (Schurz, I, 236 ff.; Rogers, 124-137; Schouler, III, 324-29, 338-43).
- IV. Clay as Secretary of State, 1825-1829 (Schurz, I, 258-310; Rogers, 138-144).
  1. How he conducted the office.
  2. The Panama Congress (Schouler, III, 358 ff.).

3. Clay and the tariff of 1828.
  4. Clay and slavery; colonization scheme (Rogers, 145-156; later position, Schurz, II, 69 ff., 152 ff.; Von Holst, I, 412 ff.).
  5. Pleasant relations of Clay and Adams.
- V. Clay's Second Candidacy for the Presidency, 1832.
1. The party chiefs (Schurz, I, 311-349; Clay a National Republican (became Whig party).
  2. The Campaign: Jackson victorious (Schurz, I, 350-83; Rogers, 172-93; Schouler, IV, 71-83).
- VI. Clay and the Tariff Compromise of 1833 (Rhodes, I, 47 ff.; Thatcher, as below cited; also Rogers, 239 ff.; Schurz, II, 1-22; Taussig, *Tariff History*, 105; Schouler, IV, 102 ff.; Von Holst, I, 491-505).
1. Tariff of 1832 and South Carolina nullification; Clay's "American System" (Schouler, IV, 61 ff.).
  2. The Compromise of 1833 arranged by Calhoun, Clayton, and Clay; Clay's land-revenue bill; and the "force-bill."
- VII. Clay's Third Candidacy for the Presidency, 1844; Slavery and the annexation of Texas the chief "issue" (Schurz, II, 228-67; Schouler, IV, 459-80; Rogers, 179 ff., 206 ff.).
1. Clay, as the "Old Prince," becomes the Whig candidate.
  2. Polk, the Democratic annexationist, victorious.
  3. Clay failed to gain the convention nomination in 1839-40 and in 1848 (Rogers, 194-203; Von Holst, II, 361 ff.).
- VIII. Clay and the Compromise of 1850 (Rogers, 333-56; Schurz, II, 315-72; Schouler, V, 160-83, 196 ff.; Thatcher, as below cited; Rhodes, *United States*, I, 181 ff; Von Holst, III.).
- IX. Clay's Place in American History.
1. His personality (Rogers, 157-71, 366-80; Schurz, II, 405-14).
    - a. Appearance.
    - b. Habits, moral standards, and ideals.
    - c. Oratory; power as a debater.
  2. Statesmanship: was he the "preserver of the Union"? (Rogers, 357 ff.).
  3. Comparison with Calhoun, Webster, and Douglas.

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*True Henry Clay* (1904). Begin by reading the short account by W. P. Trent, in *New Int. Encyclopædia*, V, 8-10. Professor Howard W. Caldwell in his *Henry Clay* (Chicago, 1899) has a lively and trustworthy account with a bibliography (p. 100). There are short sketches by Parton, *Famous Americans* (1871), 1-52; Greeley, in his *Recollections* (1869), 159-68; Littell, in his *Clay Minstrel* (1844), 1 ff.; Orth, *Five American Politicians* (1906); Mallory, *Biography of Henry Clay*; Colton, *Last Seven Years of Henry Clay* (1856); E. E. Sparks, *Men who made the Nation*, 255-81.

Consult also Prentice, *Biography of Henry Clay* (2d ed., 1831); Sargent, *Life and Public Services of Henry Clay* (1859); Thatcher, *Ideas that have influenced Civilization*, VIII, 148-60 (Clay on internal improvements), 285-88 (compromise of 1833), IX, 117-23 (compromise of 1850).

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See especially Caldwell, *Some American Legislators*, 52-73; and his *Henry Clay* (1899); and Hart, *Contemporaries*, III, 11, 417-20, 427-29, 499-501, 646-49.

## SECTION XV. DANIEL WEBSTER, THE DEFENDER OF THE FEDERAL UNION (1782-1852).

### A. Evolution of Webster's Personality (1782-1828).

#### I. Early Years (1782-1805).

1. Born in Salisbury (now Franklin), N. H., Jan. 18, 1782; descended from the Scotch Puritan, Thomas Webster, who settled in New Hampshire ca. 1636; character and deeds of his father, Ebenezer Webster (1739-1806): Indian fighter, ranger, Revolutionary officer, and Judge; his mother, Abigail Eastman.
2. General education (Lodge, 9 ff.; Curtis, *Life of Daniel Webster*, I; Lauman, *Private Life of Webster*; also works of Parton and McMaster).
  - a. At village schools; reading and sawing.
  - b. At Exeter Academy (1794).
  - c. With Dr. Wood at Boscowen, N. H. (1795-7).
  - d. At Dartmouth, 1797-1801: his attainments and traits at this period (Lodge, 13-23).
    - 1) Editor of a weekly journal.
    - 2) "Catches" poetry.

3) Fourth of July Oration, 1800, at Hanover.

4) Oration on "Opinion."

3. Law training: in Thompson's law-office at Salisbury, 1801, 1803; in office of Christopher Gore, Boston, 1804-5; admitted to the bar, 1805.

a. Principal of "Fryebourg Academy," Maine: Daniel's love for his brother, Ezekiel, and the self-sacrifice of their parents for their sons.

b. Declines court clerkship at salary of \$1500.00, 1804.

## II. Early Career as Lawyer, Legislator, and Orator.

1. Webster the lawyer: at Boscawen, 1805-7; at Portsmouth, N. H., 1807-16; at Boston, 1816 ff.

a. His first criminal case (Lodge, 34-35); anecdotes and incidents in his early legal experience.

b. He mixes law with speeches, orations, and pamphlets: the Portsmouth oration, July 4, 1812 (Lodge, 45-47).

c. The Dartmouth College Case, 1816 (Lodge, 72-98).

1) Origin of the case.

2) Importance of the decision.

3) Relation to later decisions affecting contract and "police-power."

4) Greatness of Webster's legal and forensic powers.

d. Webster's argument in *Gibbons vs. Ogden*, 1821 (Lodge, 99 ff.).

e. His argument in *Ogden vs. Saunders*, 1827.

f. In the Girard Will Case, 1844.

g. In the Rhode Island Case.

2. Famous orations (Lodge, 117-128).

a. The Plymouth Oration, Dec. 22, 1820.

b. The Bunker Hill Oration, 1825.

c. The Eulogy on Adams and Jefferson, 1826.

3. The legislator.

a. Webster's work in the Massachusetts constitutional convention, 1820 (Lodge, 110 ff.).

b. Representative from New Hampshire in U. S. Congress, 1813-17; an anti-war Federalist (Lodge, 49 ff.).

1) Opposes embargo and favors navy.

2) His position on the bank, finance, and the tariff (Lodge, 62 ff.).

3) On Committee for Foreign Relations.

- c. Representative from Massachusetts, 1822-27 (Lodge, 129-153).

*B. Webster the Statesman; the Champion of the National Union (1828-1852).*

I. Offices and Aspirations (Lodge, 154 ff.).

1. In the U. S. Senate, 1827-1841.
  - a. Favors tariff of 1828.
  - b. Resists doctrine of nullification, 1830: his reply to Hayne.
  - c. Resists Jackson's bank policy, favoring recharter (Lodge, 205 ff.).
2. Secretary of State, 1841-43 (Lodge, 241 ff.).
  - a. The McLeod and Creole incidents.
  - b. The Ashburton Treaty.
3. Again in the Senate, 1845-1850 (Lodge, 264-332).
  - a. Resists annexation of Texas and war with Mexico.
  - b. The Seventh of March speech, 1850: effects of Webster's compromise views (Rhodes, I, 137-62; Von Holst, III, 497 ff.).
4. Again Secretary of State, 1850-52.
5. Webster and the "Presidential Bee" (Von Holst, II, 345, 364, 410, III, 502, 504, 505, IV, 72, 140, 147).
  - a. 1836: receives electoral vote of Massachusetts.
  - b. Suggested for presidency, 1840: small following.
  - c. Failed to get Whig nomination, 1848; defeated by Taylor.
  - d. Failed to get Whig nomination, 1852; defeated by Scott; advised friends to vote for Pierce, the Democratic candidate.

II. Characteristics of Webster (Lodge, 343-62; Von Holst, III, 503-4, IV, 42-43, 204).

- a. Personal appearance.
- b. Intellectual powers.
- c. Traits and habits.
- d. Weakness of his moral character.
- e. His place in American history.

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(1882). See also Peter Harvey, *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Daniel Webster* (1877); Edward Everett, *Biographical Memoir*, in Webster's *Works* (1877), I, 13-160; O. J. Thatcher, *Ideas that have influenced Civilization*, VIII, 247-270 (the Supreme Court the final Arbiter); E. P. Gould, *John Adams and Daniel Webster as Schoolmasters* (1903); T. S. King, *Webster's Character and his Work in our National Life*, in his *Substance and Show* (1877), 299-353; Charles Lauman, *Private Life of Daniel Webster* (1853); James Parton, *Daniel Webster*, in his *Famous Americans* (1871), 53-112; J. C. Reed, *Webster*, in his, *The Brothers's War* (1905), 130-160; E. P. Wheeler, *Daniel Webster the Expounder of the Constitution* (1905); and E. E. Sparks, *Men who made the Nation*, 318-45. Some discussion of the questions connected with Webster's career may be found in James Ford Rhodes, *United States*, III, 35-38 (tariff of 1824), I, 42 ff. (with Hayne), 50 (with Calhoun), 72, 77 (Texas), 137-162 (7th of March Speech); H. von Holst, *Constitutional History*, Index volume, 340-45, detailed references; James Schouler, Index to each volume; A. B. Hart, *Formation of the Union*, 134, 203, 226, 230, 248, 236 (Dartmouth College Case), 258; W. Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, 11, 30, 31, 44-47, 137, 139, 140, 141, 170, 173, 175; K. C. Babcock, *Rise of American Nationality*, 210-11, 221, 224, 226, 229, 237, 302; F. J. Turner, *Rise of the New West*, 5, 12, 19, 25, 176, 218, 239, 321; William MacDonald, *Jacksonian Democracy*, 62, 69, 72, 132 (bank veto), 163, 95-105 (const. debates), 149, 166 (force bill), 214 (Texas), 233, 298-300, 303; A. B. Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*, 265, 294 (Creole case); G. P. Garrison, *Westward Extension*, 54, 62, 65, 67, 70, 81-84 (Ashburton Treaty), 197, 259, 324-26 (7th of March speech). The new work of E. P. Wheeler, *Daniel Webster, the Expounder of the Constitution*, should be consulted.

Compare A. B. Hart, *Contemporaries*, III, 11, 356-40, IV, 52-56; and read also W. G. Sumner, *Andrew Jackson*, 82-379, *passim*; Carl Schurz, *Henry Clay*, Index to vol. II; H. von Holst, *Calhoun*, 60, 83, 210, 225, 273, 322; T. Roosevelt, *Benton*, Index; E. M. Shepard, *Van Buren*, Index; Moorefield Storey, *Sumner*, Index; A. L. Dawes, *Sumner*, 8, 11, 17, 48, 52, 65, 66, 86, 101; E. L. Pierce, *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, Index; H. C. Lodge, *Studies in History* (1884), 294-329.

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## SECTION XVI. CHARLES SUMNER, THE APOSTLE OF PEACE AND LIBERTY (1811-1874).

I. Early Life: Rise of a Scholar in Politics, 1811-1840 (Storey, chaps. i-iv; Dawes, chaps. i-vi; Pierce, Vols. I, II, III, 1-203; *New International Encyclopaedia*, XVIII, 694-95).

1. Ancestry: William, son of Roger Sumner of Bicester in Oxfordshire, came to Dorchester, Mass., 1635. Charles, son of Charles Pinckney Sumner, a descendant of Will-

iam in the 7th generation; character of his father (d. 1839); of his mother, Relief Jacob (d. 1866).

2. Education.

a. He wished to study at West Point; but failed to get cadetship.

b. Graduated at Harvard, 1830; finished Harvard Law School and admitted to the bar, 1834; influence of Judge Joseph Storey and Professor Simon Greenleaf.

c. Special activities during student years; prizes won; general reading; literary productions; meetings with great men.

d. Personal appearance and traits at this time (Storey, 9-13).

3. Beginnings in law practice, 1834-37.

a. Instructor in Harvard Law School, 1835-37.

b. Court reporter, editor of *Jurist*; other activities.

4. Visit to Europe, 1837-40 (See Pierce, I, II).

a. Meetings with celebrated men and women.

b. His account of Lord John Russell.

c. General value of his travels.

II. Sumner's Middle Career: Establishment of his Personality, 1840-1850 (Storey, chaps. iii, iv; Dawes, 44-61; Pierce, III).

1. The Boston lawyer.

2. Catholicity of his tastes and interests; shares in social, educational, and philanthropic movements.

3. Anti-slavery sentiments developed; various speeches, writings, and contests.

4. His great oration, "The True Grandeur of Nations," July 4, 1845: according to Cobden, the "noblest contribution" to "the cause of peace" (Storey, 34-35; Pierce, II, 337-84; Davis, 50-51).

a. The ideal of peace *vs.* the ideal of militarism.

b. Political results of the oration (Storey, 34 ff.).

5. Texas annexation resisted; Winthrop's toast: "Our Country, however bounded," July 4, 1845; Sumner's resolutions, Nov. 4, 1845 (Storey, 43-4; Pierce, III, 98 ff.).

6. Becomes a leader of the Mass. "Conscience Whigs," which shared in the formation of the Free Soil Party; opposed by the "Cotton Whigs" (See Pierce, III).

7. Prison discipline debates, 1846-7 (Pierce, III, 79 ff.).



8. Writings and political controversies; defeated as Free Soil candidate for Congress, 1848 (See Pierce, III, 1-188).

### III. Sumner the National Statesman and Political Reformer: Senator, 1851-1874.

1. Election as U. S. Senator by a coalition of Free Soilers and Democrats against the Whigs led by Webster.
  - a. Character and influence of Sumner's speech at Faneuil Hall, Nov. 6, 1850 (Storey, 76-80; Pierce, III, IV; Dawes, 62 ff.).
  - b. Allies and adversaries of Sumner (Storey, 74 ff.).
  - c. The senatorial struggle in the legislature of Mass.
2. Early career as senator, 1851-1860: Sumner the anti-slavery champion.
  - a. His speech: "Freedom National, Slavery Sectional" (Storey, 92-95; Dawes, 79 ff.).
  - b. His speeches on the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, 1853-54 (Storey, 101-130; Pierce, III, 345 ff.).
  - c. His great speech: "The Crime against Kansas," May 19, 1856 (Storey, 131-61; Pierce, III, 439 ff.; Dawes, 108 ff.; Rhodes, *United States*, II, 147-49, 139-40; Von Holst, V, 313 ff.).
    - 1) Character of the speech.
    - 2) The Brooks assault (Pierce, III, 461 ff.; Von Holst, V, 318 ff.).
    - 3) Results of the assault.
      - (a) Visit to Europe, 1856-59 (Dawes, 127 ff.; Pierce, III, 525 ff.; Story, 155 ff.).
      - (b) The presidential campaign of 1856.
  - d. His speech on "The Barbarism of Slavery," June 4, 1859 (Storey, 172 ff.; Pierce, III, 605 ff.).
  - e. Triumph of Lincoln and the Republican Party, 1860; Sumner's share in the campaign.
3. Sumner opposes compromise as the preventive of secession (Storey, 178-196).
4. Sumner favors emancipation in 1861; his speech of Oct. 1, 1861 (Storey, 201 ff.; Dawes, 154 ff.; Pierce, IV).
5. Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations (1861-1871): Speech on "Trent Affair" (Pierce, IV, 50 ff.).
6. Share in "Reconstruction" debates; and in the struggle with President Johnson; his "suicide theory" of the states as meaning death of slavery (Pierce, IV, 267 ff.).

7. Closing years; his ideals of humanism, peace, and social justice maintained.

#### IV. Sumner's Place in History.

1. The apostle of the evangel of international peace (see especially G. F. Magoun, in *The International Review*, I, 676-99, and the literature there cited).
  - a. Revealed in his "True Grandeur of Nations," July 4, 1845. See above.
  - b. Revealed in his "War System of the Commonwealth of Nations," May, 1849.
  - c. Revealed in acts and utterances throughout his life.
2. The apostle of human brotherhood.
3. The apostle of the new humanism: the scholar in politics.
4. His personality.
  - a. Appearance.
  - b. Habits and pursuits; personal traits (See Storey, *Index*, p. 463).
  - c. Faults of temper.
  - d. Moral grandeur of his character (Von Holst, *Const. History*, IV, 219-21).

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See also J. T. Morse, *Abraham Lincoln*, I, 100, 106, 113, 296, II, 4; W. MacDonald, *Select Documents*, 402-3.

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## SECTION XVII. ABRAHAM LINCOLN, THE TYPICAL AMERICAN GENIUS (1809-1865).

### A. *The Evolution of Lincoln's Personality.*

- I. Ancestry (Morse, I, 1-8; Nicolay, 3 ff.; Nicolay and Hay, I; Arnold, 13-27; Lamon, 1 ff.; Tarbell, *Early Life*, 1 ff; *idem*, *Abraham Lincoln*, I, 1-17; Hill, 3 ff.).
  1. Probably descended from Samuel Lincoln, of Norwich, England, who settled in Hingham, Mass., 1640; but the early genealogy is very obscure.
  2. Quaker descendants of Samuel, who migrated to New Jersey, then to Pennsylvania, and later to Rockingham County, Va.; of these, Abraham Lincoln, the President's grandfather, removed to Jefferson County, Va., ca. 1780-82.
  3. Character of Thomas Lincoln, father of Abraham.
  4. Character of Nancy Hanks, Abraham's mother (Morse, I, 7-8; Herndon, 3 ff.; Holland, 23; Raymond, 20; Nicolay and Hay, I, 24). On the question of her legitimacy, compare Morse with Tarbell.
- II. The Kentucky Home of Lincoln, 1809-1816: Vicissitudes of a Roving Squatter's Family.
  1. Various abodes; the poverty and squalor of pioneer life.
  2. The log cabin at Hodgenville.
- III. The Indiana Home of Lincoln, 1816-1830.
  1. The "half-faced camp" and the family belongings.
  2. October 5, 1818, Nancy dies; and in 1819 Abraham acquires a step-mother, Mrs. Sally Bush Johnston: her good influence.
  3. Abraham's education.
    - a. Scanty and fragmentary schooling for a few months (Herndon, 34-37, 41; Lamon, 33-39; Holland, 28; Morse I, 12-13; Arnold, 20 ff.; Tarbell, I, 15 ff., 29 ff.).
    - b. General reading (Morse, I, 13).
  4. Coarse moral and social surroundings; youthful habits and mental activities; the Lincoln myths of this period.
  5. First work for hire: an expert country butcher at 31 cents a day.
  6. 1830: the 14 days' trip of a "mover's" ox-team to Illinois.
- IV. The Illinois Home of Lincoln, till the Opening of his Public

Life, 1830-1834 (Morse, I, 15-42; Arnold, 28 ff.; Tarbell, I, 45 ff.; Lamon, 73 ff.; Nicolay, 21 ff.).

1. The rail-splitter.
  2. The flat-boat "hand" on the Mississippi, 1831; influence of Denton Offut; first thoughts on slavery.
  3. The store-keeper at New Salem, 1831-32.
  4. First taste of politics: beaten for the legislature, 1832; campaign methods.
  5. Lincoln, in the Black Hawk war, 1832: captain and private.
  6. More store-keeping: failure of Berry and Lincoln; Lincoln shoulders the firm's load of debt, and Berry "moves on."
  7. Postmaster at New Salem, 1833-1836.
  8. Deputy land surveyor, 1834: nearly crushed by the "national debt."
  9. The moral and physical environment of Lincoln's youth; and how it moulded his personality (Morse, I, 20-34).
- V. Lincoln's First Years in Politics (Morse, I, 42; Nicolay, 39-60; Arnold, 45 ff.; Tarbell, I, 67 ff., 89 ff.).
1. 1834-1842: member of the Illinois legislature.
    - a. His "platform," 1836 (Morse, I, 50).
    - b. Position on slavery: the "protest" of 1837.
  2. Begins law practice, 1837; moves to Springfield, 1839. Character of the Bar in early Illinois (Morse, I, 67 ff.).
  3. Marries Mary Todd, 1842: her character and her influence on Lincoln.
  4. In Congress, 1847-49; incidents (Arnold, 76 ff.).
  5. July 1, 1852: Eulogy on Henry Clay.
  6. Opposes the extension of slavery in the territories.
    - a. Speech at Springfield State Fair, October, 1854; rivalry with Douglas.
    - b. Speech at Republican Convention at Bloomington, 1856.
    - c. Makes fifty speeches for Fremont, 1856.
- VI. The Great Debate with Stephen A. Douglas, 1858 (Morse, I, 111-160; Arnold, 139 ff.; Nicolay, 118 ff.; Nicolay and Hay, II; Tarbell, I, 300 ff.; Hill, 263 ff.).
1. Character, ability, and political principles of Douglas.
  2. Illustrations of the debate; moral courage and boldness of Lincoln.
  3. Result: Douglas wins the Senatorship; and the presidency of Lincoln made inevitable.

## VII. President Lincoln, 1861-65.

1. The election of 1860.
2. The secession of the states and how Lincoln controlled the situation.
3. Lincoln the master of men: his cabinet and how he governed it.
4. Lincoln the Emancipator.
  - a. Development of his policy as to abolition of slavery.
  - b. The preliminary proclamation of September 22, 1862 (Morse, II, 112-121); the final emancipation proclamation Jan. 1, 1863 (Morse, II, 130 ff.).
5. Lincoln as a war-executive.
  - a. Dealings with his generals.
  - b. Greatness of his policy.
  - c. His power grounded in national sentiment and in the people's love for the man.
6. Death of Lincoln (April 15, 1865).

*B. The Quality of Lincoln's Personality.*

## I. The Unique Composition of Lincoln's Personality the Secret of his Greatness.

1. How his character unfolded with the change of environment.
  - a. Continual moral and intellectual growth.
  - b. Constant sympathy with men: a true child of the American people; especially of the people of the West.
2. His absolute intellectual honesty or rectitude; "above all else he *thought fairly*" (Morse, I, 139).
3. Hence his character reveals a remarkable *seeming* paradox: an impersonal personality.

## II. How Lincoln's Unique Personality Expresses Itself in his Ideals and his Conduct.

1. As a humorist; value of the American talent for perceiving life's tragi-comedy.
2. As a lawyer; his lofty ethical standard.
3. As an orator and as a debater: whence the power of the "Gettysburg Address" (Nov. 19, 1863: See Morse, II, 214-16; Arnold, 327-30).
  - a. Secret of his power as an orator.
  - b. What part of his success due to his power of speech?
4. As the war executive: how did he prove himself "master:

of men"? At the beginning of the war, his personality reveals the serene majesty of a natural force; almost superhuman grandeur and patience.

5. As a man.

- a. His humanism: simplicity, charity, magnanimity, patience, constancy, sympathy.
- b. His democracy: love of all men; his soul absolutely incapable of envy, malice, or revenge.
- c. Lincoln the type of American genius.
- d. The modern "man of sorrow"; for his heart throbbed in complete unison with the joys and sufferings of the people.
- e. His legacy to humanity.

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There is a vast mass of serial literature relating to Lincoln which may be found through the use of Poole's Index and other lists. Of course, all the histories of the civil war times and of the preceding few years contain relevant discussions. See especially the works of Schouler, Von Holst, and Rhodes; also A. B. Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*, 175, 194, 310, 322; T. C. Smith, *Parties and Slavery*, Index; F. E. Chadwick, *Causes of the Civil War*, Index; J. K. Hosmer, *The Appeal to Arms*, Index; *idem*, *Outcome of the Civil War*, Index; W. Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, Index.

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### I. JOSEPH GALLOWAY (1731-1803).

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### II. GOUVERNEUR MORRIS (1752-1816).

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### III. JOHN ADAMS (1735-1826).

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#### IV. AARON BURR (1756-1836).

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#### V. ALBERT GALLATIN (1761-1849).

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## VII. JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN (1782-1850).

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## VIII. STEPHEN ARNOLD DOUGLAS (1813-1861).

William Gardner, *Life of Stephen A. Douglas* (1905); and W. G. Brown, *Douglas* (1902), in the "Riverside Biographical Series," have provided useful sketches. A careful and more elaborate work is Allen Johnson, *Stephen A. Douglas: a Study in American Politics* (1908); and there is an uncritical campaign *Life* (1860) by J. W. Sheahan; and another by R. B. Warden (1860). The fullest and best account of Douglas's career is J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, I, II. This should be supplemented on the Kansas-Nebraska question by Albert Watkins, in the so-called "Morton" *History of Nebraska* (Lincoln, 1905 ff.), I, 131-59. H. E. Von Holst, *Constitutional History*, has much relating to Douglas: see the very numerous citations in the Index, IX, 93-97. Consult also E. A. Pollard, *Lost Cause*, chap. iv; G. P. Garrison, *Westward Extension* (1906); T. C. Smith, *Parties and Slavery* (1906). F. E. Chadwick, *Causes of the Civil War* (1906); Woodrow Wilson, *Division and Reunion* (1893, 1896), 182-84, 191, 200-202, 205, 207; and the Index volume of the "American Nation" series. S. P. Orth has an essay in his *Five American Politicians* (1906).

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## IX. WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD (1801-1872).

The best biographies are Frederick Bancroft, *William H. Seward* (2 vols., 1900); and T. K. Lathrop, *Life* (1896), in the "Statesmen" series. We have a good account of his work as Senator and Secretary by F. W. Seward, *Seward at Washington* (2 vols., 1891). The last named writer has edited *Autobiography of William H. Seward* (1877-91). Consult Gideon Wells, *Lincoln and Seward* (1874); *idem*, "The Election and Administration of Abraham Lincoln," in *Galaxy* (1877), XXII, XXIII; *Seward's Travels Around the World* (1873), edited by Olive R. Seward,

his adopted daughter; the *Memoir* in Seward's *Works*, I, 13-90; and Baker, *Life* (1855).

Indispensable for the study of Seward is J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States*; and for the period before 1861, H. E. Von Holst, *Constitutional History*, should be consulted: see the Indexes. Important are Woodrow Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, 171, 206, 217, 232; *idem*, *American People*, IV, 145-46, 209, V, 42; James Schouler, *United States*, V, VI; A. B. Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*, 195-96, 253, 281, 283, 318; T. C. Smith, *Parties and Slavery*, 25, 48, 98, 100, 140, 142, 209, 228; F. E. Chadwick, *Causes of the Civil War*, 116, 119-20, 281, 295, 306; J. K. Hosmer, *The Appeal to Arms*; *idem*, *Outcome of the Civil War*, Indexes.

Some of the literature cited on Abraham Lincoln in Section XVII above is available for Seward. See Nicolay and Hay, Index in vol. X; Nicolay, *Short History*, chap. xiii; Rothschild, 121-56; Morse, I, 229 ff., 273 ff., Index; Hapgood, Index; Noah Brooks, 247 ff.; Tarbell, II, chap. xxii; Barrett, Index in vol II.

Seward's *Works* (new ed., 5 vols., 1887-90) have been edited by George E. Baker; and there is important source-material in O. J. Thatcher, *Ideas*, etc., IX, 123-32; in H. W. Caldwell, *Some American Legislators* (1899), 172-192; and in A. B. Hart, *Contemporaries*, IV, Index.

## X. SALMON PORTLAND CHASE (1808-1873).

A. B. Hart, *Chase* (1899), has contributed an excellent volume to the "Statesmen" series. A good biography is J. W. Schuckers, *Life and Public Services of Salmon P. Chase* (1874); and the book of R. B. Warden, *An Account of the Private Life and Public Services of Salmon Portland Chase* (1874), was prepared at Chase's request.

Very important for the career of Chase is J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States*; and for his life before 1861, H. E. Von Holst, *Constitutional History* should be consulted. See also Woodrow Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, 171, 206, 217, 232; James Schouler, *United States*, V, VI; F. E. Chadwick, *Causes of the Civil War*, 116, 119, 120, 281, 295, 306; J. K. Hosmer, *The Appeal to Arms*, 22, 24, 64-65, 167, 169, 171, 202, 208, 212, 215, 217; *idem*, *Outcome of the Civil War*, Index; and the Index volume of the "American Nation" series.

The literature of Lincoln's administration contains much relating to Chase. See Nicolay and Hay, Index in vol. X; Rothschild, 157-222; Morse, I, 234 ff., 273 ff., Index; Hapgood, Index; Noah Brooks, 247 ff.; McClure, 132-46; Barrett, Index in vol. II. Chase's "Diary and Correspondence" are published in American Historical Association, *Report*, 1902, II, 11-527; and valuable documents are given by H. W. Caldwell, *Some American Legislators* (1899), 194-214; and by A. B. Hart, *Contemporaries*, IV, 291, 400-402. For bibliography consult Library of Congress, *List of Works relating to the Supreme Court of the United States* (1909), 75-82.

## XI. JEFFERSON DAVIS (1809-1889).

Valuable is *Jefferson Davis, Ex-President of the Confederate States: A Memoir* (2 vols., 1890), by Davis's second wife, Varina Howell Davis. There are a condemnatory *Life of J. Davis* (1869) by E. A. Pollard; an eulogistic biography (1868) by F. H. Alfriend; *Personal Recollections of Jefferson Davis* (1889) by Oliver Dyer; a sketch by W. P. Trent in his *Southern Statesmen of the Old Regime* (1897); and an autobiographical article in *Bedford's Magazine* (Jan., 1890). Jefferson Davis's elaborate and able *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (2 vols., 1881) is indispensable; and he wrote a *Short History of the Confederate States of America* (1890). Consult *Life and Reminiscences of Jefferson Davis by Distinguished Men of his Time* (1890); and J. C. Reed, in his *Brothers's War* (1905), 296-329.

The best historical account of Davis's career is contained in J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States*; and for the period before the war H. E. Von Holst, *Constitutional History*, should be consulted: see the Indexes. Discussions may also be found in James Schouler, *United States*, V, VI; Woodrow Wilson, *Division and Reunion*, 211, 219, 223, 235; *idem*, *American People*, IV, 200, 210, 310; T. C. Smith, *Parties and Slavery*, 26, 38, 51, 97, 105, 218, 244, 247, 300; F. E. Chadwick, *Causes of the Civil War*, Index; J. K. Hosmer, *The Appeal to Arms*, 20-21, 60, 80, 123, 154, 250; *idem*, *Outcome of the Civil War*, 28, 46, 107, 118, 203, 227, 228, 270, 280, 297. J. G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress* (2 vols., 1886), has many references to Davis; see the Index.

Important for the general Southern view are E. A. Pollard, *Lost Cause* (1866), hostile to Davis; A. H. Stephens, *War between the States* (2 vols., 1867), a just and able work; J. L. M. Curry, *The Southern States* (1894); J. H. Hammond, *Letters and Speeches* (1866); T. L. Clingman, *Writings and Speeches* (1877). Consult the bibliography of Southern men and affairs, in J. K. Hosmer, *Outcome of the Civil War*, 323, 326-27; Channing and Hart, *Guide*, 402-18; and the source-material in O. J. Thatcher, *Ideas*, etc., IX, 197-99; and A. B. Hart, *Contemporaries*, IV, 189-92, 229-30, 255, 319-23.

## XII. ROBERT EDWARD LEE (1807-1870).

The fine character, charming personality, and military genius of Lee are inspiring more and more careful study. Recent contributions are Thomas Nelson Page, *Robert E. Lee, the Southerner* (1908); P. A. Bruce, *Robert E. Lee* (1907), in the "American Crisis Biographies"; Viscount G. J. Wolseley, *General Lee* (1906); J. R. Deering, *Lee and his Cause* (1907); and C. F. Adams, in his *Three Phi Beta Kappa Addresses* (1907).

A work of decided military value is A. L. Long, *Memoirs of Robert Edward Lee* (1886). Other accounts are J. E. Cooke, *Life of Robert E. Lee* (1871); J. W. Jones, *Personal Reminiscences of Gen. R. E. Lee*

(1875); Fitzhugh Lee, *Robert E. Lee* (1894); White, *Robert E. Lee* (1897); W. P. Trent, *Robert E. Lee* (1899), with bibliography, 132-35; *idem*, in *New International Encyclopædia*, XII, 74-77, with a portrait. Consult also J. D. McCabe, *Life and Campaigns of Lee* (1867); Mrs. James Longstreet, *Lee and Longstreet at High Tide* (1904); E. S. Ellis, *Campaign-Fires of General Lee* (1886); R. Stiles, *Four Years under Marse Robert* (1903), record of a Yale graduate; W. H. Taylor, *Four Years with Lee* (1878); R. M. Johnston, *Leading American Soldiers* (1907), 256-309; especially R. E. Lee, Jr., *Recollections and Letters of R. E. Lee* (1894).

As on all leading characters of the war-period, J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, is of great importance. Of decided value, too, are the works of Wilson, Schouler, Hosmer, and Sparks elsewhere cited. The military histories of the period, and the lives and writings of Lee's contemporaries should be examined; also such books as Pollard's *Lost Cause*, Cox's *Three Decades* (1888), Davis's *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, and Grant's *Memoirs*.

See the bibliographies of the war-literature in the books of Hosmer and the bibliographies cited by him; also Channing and Hart, *Guide*, 402-18, and important source-material in A. B. Hart, *Contemporaries*, IV, Index.

### XIII. ULYSSES SIMPSON GRANT (1822-1885).

Of primary importance are Grant's *Personal Memoirs* (2 vols., 1885-6, 1895); and, there are excellent biographies by W. C. Church, *Grant* (1897); and James Grant Wilson, *Life and Campaigns* (1868; revised, 1886). Other useful accounts are Adam Badeau, *Grant in Peace* (1887); *idem*, *Military History of U. S. Grant* (3 vols., 1868-1881); C. C. Chesney, *Military Life of General Grant* (1874); G. W. Childs, *Recollections of General Grant* (1888); Henry Coppee, *Grant and his Campaigns* (1866); Charles A. Dana and J. H. Wilson, *Life of U. S. Grant* (1868); J. T. Headley, *Grant and Sherman* (1866); A. K. McClure, *Lincoln and Men of War-Times*, 189 ff.; R. M. Johnston, *Leading American Soldiers*, 137-92; Hamlin Garland, *Grant* (1898); J. T. Headley, *Life and Travels of General Grant* (1879); B. P. Poore and O. H. Tiffany, *Life of Grant* (1885); J. L. Post, *Reminiscences by Personal Friends of Grant* (1904); A. D. Richardson, *Personal History of Grant* (1868); W. O. Stoddard, in his *Lives of the Presidents* (1886-7).

In general, consult the works of Hosmer, Schouler, Rhodes, and Dunning (*Reconstruction*); the histories of the war by Ropes, Count of Paris, Pollard, and others; and the memoirs, biographies, and writings of Grant's contemporaries.

The valuable *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (4 vols., 1887) contains many articles originally contributed to the *Century Magazine* by Grant in his later years. We have F. A. Burr, *New, Original, and Authentic Record of Grant* (1885); a study of the ancestry of Grant by



E. C. Marshall (1869); John Russell Young, *Around the World with General Grant* (2 vols., 1879); Grant's *Letters to a Friend, Elihu B. Washburne, 1861-1880* (1897), ed. by J. G. Wilson; and source-material in A. B. Hart, *Contemporaries*, IV, Index.

Consult the bibliographies of the Civil War period in the two books of Hosmer; Channing and Hart, *Guide*, 402 ff.; and those cited on Lincoln, above, section XVII.













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